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THE PHILOSOPHY COMMONLY CALLED, THE MORALS

WRITTEN

By the Learned Philosopher

PLUTARCH

OF

CHAERONEA.

Translated out of Greek into English, and conferred with the Latine Translations and the French,

By *PHILEMON HOLLAND*,
Doctor of PHYSICK.

Whereunto are annexed the Summaries necessary to be read before every TREATISE.

Newly Revised and Corrected.

LONDON,
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TO THE

Moſt High and Mighty Prince,

IAMES,

By the Grace of God,

KING

OF

ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, FRANCE and *IRELAND*, Defender of the FAITH, &c.

IN this generall joy of affectionate and loyall ſubjects, teſtified by their frequent confluence from all parts, longing for nothing ſo much as the full fruition of that beautifull Star, which lately upon the ſhutting in of evening with us after our long Summers day, immediately by his radiant beames maintained ſtill a twilight from the North, and within ſome few houres appeared bright ſhining above our Horizon, ſuffering neither the dark night and confuſed Chaos *of* Anarchy *to overſpred and ſubvert, nor the turbulent tempeſts and bloudy broyles of factious ſidings to trouble and pervert our State: I alſo, for my part could not ſtay behind, but in teſtimony of ſemblable love and allegeance ſhew my ſelf; and withall, moſt humbly preſent unto your Highneſs,* This Philoſophy of PLUTARCH: *which being firſt naturally bred in* Greece; *then,*

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transplanted in Italy, France, *and other regions of the continent; after sundry Nativities, if I may so speak, reserved (not without some divine previdence) unto these dayes, is now in this our Island newly come to light; ready both to congratulate your Majesties first entry upon the inheritance of these Kingdomes, & desirous also to enjoy the benefit of that happy* Horoscope *and fortunate* Ascendent, *under which it was born; even the favourable aspect of your gracious countenance: by vertue whereof, it may not only be marked to long life, feeble otherwise of it self, but also yeeld pleasure with profit to the English Nation.*

Vouchsafe therefore, my dear Lord and dread Soveraign, to accept that now at my hands, whole and entire, which in part Trajanus *the best Roman Emperour that ever was, received sometime from the first Authour and Stock-father himself: Protect the same in English habit, whom in French attire* Amiot *Dedicated to the late most Christian King: and deign unto her no less favour and grace, than her younger Sister, to wit, the History or Parallele Lives, hath already obtained: which being transported out of* France *into* England *by that worthy Knight Sir* Thomas North *our Country-man, was Patronized by our late Soveraign Lady of famous memory* Elizabeth. *And the rather, for that considering the prerogative of birth-right, and the same accompanyed with more variety and depth of knowledge, I may be bold to pronounce as much in her commendation, as the Poet wrote of* Jupiter *in comparison of his brother* Neptune:

Homer. Iliad. o. Ἦ μὰν ἀμφοτέρωσιν ὁμὸν γένος ἠδ' ἐν ἅπασι,
ἀλλ' ἄντην πρότερος γενόμην, καὶ φίλλονα ἴδμεν.

These regards, albeit they were sufficient motives in themselves to induce me, for to attempt none other Patronage than the Name of my Liege Lord so gracious; nor to submit my labours to the censure of any person, before a King so judicious: yet was I more animated to enterprise the same, by the former experience that I had of a Princes benignity in that behalf: what time as I consecrated my English Translation of the Roman History written by Titus Livius, *unto the immortall memory of the said Noble and renowned Queen. Now, seeing that with her Realms and Dominions, the best parts and gifts that were in her, be likewise hæreditarily descended upon your royall person, and the same multiplied in greater measure, proportionable to the dignity of sex, the addition of scepters and diademes, and the weighty charge of so puissant and populous and Empire; it were in me a grosse absurdity, if not meer impiety, to make any doubt of that excellent vertue of all others, whereby Princes come neerest unto the Nature of God, whose Majesty here upon earth they represent. To say nothing, how the world hath taken knowledge already, as well by your vertuous life and politick regiment hitherto, as also by the prudent and religious designments, delivered in those sage and learned Compositions of your Highnesse penning, That your blessed intention is to hold on the same course still, not onely* Plutarch De fortu. vel Virtut. Alexandri. Orat. 1. βασιλικῶς, *a point that the Indian Potentate* Porus *required of* Alexander *the Great: but also* φιλοσόφως; *the singular note that our present Authour set upon all the actions of the said mighty Monarch;*

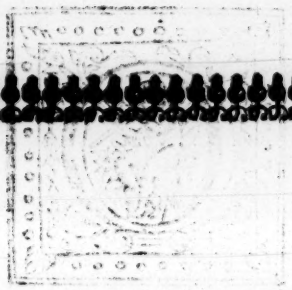
Since then both these attributes concurre in your Noble Person, just cause have we, in all devout thankfulnesse to acknowledge the goodnesse of the Almighty, who from

from heaven above hath ſent us ſo wiſe a Prince, under whoſe Reign we (if ever any Nation under the Sun) may aſſuredly expect that felicity and happineſs, which the divine Philoſopher Plato *ſo much recommendeth: and in due reverence unto your Majeſty, with one heart and voice, both ſing and ſay:* Dialo. 5. De rep.

Hîc ames dici Pater atq; Princeps:
Serus in cælum redeas, tuoq;
Lætus interſis populo, *Britannûm*
Prime Monarcha. Horat. 1. Carm. od. 2.

Your Majeſties moſt humble and obedient Subject,

Philémon Holland.



A CATALOGUE

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CATALOGUE

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THE

OF THE NURTURE AND EDUCATION OF CHILDREN.

The Summary.

THe very title of this Treatise discovereth sufficiently the intention of the Author; and whosoever he was that reduced these Morals and mixt workes of his into one entire Volume, was well advised, and had great reason to range this present Discourse in the first and formost place: For unlesse our minds be framed unto vertue from our infancy, impossible it is that we should performe any worthy act so long as we live. Now, albeit Plutarch (as a meer Pagan) hath both in this book, and also in others ensuing, where he treateth of vertues and vices, left out the chiefe and principall thing, to wit, The Law of God and his Truth, (wherein he was altogether ignorant,) yet nevertheless, these excellent precepts by him delivered like raies which proceed from the light of nature remaining still in the spirit and soul of man, as well to leave sinners inexcusable, as to shew how happy they be, who are guided by the heavenly light of holy Scripture; are able to commence action against those, who make profession in word how they embrace the true and soveraigne Good, but in deed and effect do annihilate, as much as lieth in them, the power and efficacy thereof.

Moreover, in this Treatise he proveth first of all, That the generation of Infants ought in no wise to be defamed with the blot either of Adultery or Drunkennesse: Then, he entreth into a discourse of their Education: and after he hath shewed, that Nature, Reason, and Usage ought to concur in their instruction, he teacheth how and by whom they should be nurtured, brought up and taught, where he reproveth sharply the sloath, ignorance and avarice of some Fathers. And the better to declare the excellency of these benefits, namely, good instruction, knowledge and vertue, which the study of Philosophy doth promise and teach, he compareth the same with all the greatest goods of the world: and so consequently setteth down what vices especially they are to shun and avoid, who would be capable of sincere and true literature.

But before he proceedeth further, he describeth and limiteth how far forth children well borne and of good parentage should be urged and forced by compulsion; deciphering briefly the praises of morall Philosophy: and concluding withall, That the man is blessed, who is both helpfull to his neighbour as it becommeth, and also good unto himselfe. All these points above rehearsed, when he hath enriched and embellished with similitudes, examples, apophthegmes, and such like ornaments, he propoundeth divers rules pertinent to the institution of young children: which done, he passeth from tender childhood to youthfull age, shewing what government there ought to be of young men: far from whom, he banisheth and chaseth flatterers especially: and for a finall conclusion discourseth of the kind behaviour of Fathers, and the good example that they are to give unto their Children.

A THE

The Education of Children.

FOrasmuch as we are to consider what may be said as touching the Education of children free borne and descended from gentle bloud, how and by what discipline they may become honest and vertuous, we shall perhaps treat hereof the better, if we begin at their very generation and nativity. First and formost therefore, I would advise those who desire to be the fathers of such children, as may live another day in honour and reputation among men, not to match themselves and meddle with light women, common Courtizans I mean, or private Concubines. For a reproach this is that followeth a man all the daies of his life, and a shamefull staine which by no meanes can be fetched out, if haply he be not come of a good father or good mother: neither is there any one thing that presenteth it selfe more readily unto his adversaries, and sooner is in their mouth when they are disposed to check, taunt and revile, than to twit him with such parentage. In which regard, wisely said the Poet *Euripides*:

When as the ground is not well laid
At first, for our nativity;
With parents fault, men will upbraid
Both us and our posterity.

A goodly treasure then have they who are well and honestly borne, when in the confidence and assurance thereof they may be bold to beare their heads aloft, and speake their minds frankly whersoever they come: and verily they of all others are to make the greatest account of this blessing, who wish to have faire issue of their bodies lawfully begotten. Certain, a thing it is that ordinarily daunteth and casteth down the heart of man, when he is privy to the baseness of his birth, and knoweth some defect, blemish, and imperfection by his parents. Most truly therefore, and to the purpose right fitly spake the same Poet:

The privity to fathers vice
Or mothers fault reproachable,
Will him debase, who otherwise
Is haughty, stout and commendable.

Whereas contrariwise, they that are known to be the children of noble and worthy parents, beare themselves highly, and are full of stomack and generosity. In which conceit and lofty spirit it is reported, that *Diaphantus* the son of *Themistocles*, was wont to say, and that in the hearing of many, That whatsoever pleased him, the same also the people of *Athens* thought well of: for, that which I would have done, quoth he, my mother likewise saith Yea unto it: what my mothers mind stands to, *Themistocles* my father will not gainsay it: and look what likes *Themistocles*, the *Athenians* all are will contented therewith. Where by the way, the magnanimity, and brave mind of the *Lacedemonians* is highly to be praised, who condemned their King *Archidamus* in a great fine of money, for that he could find in his heart to espouse a wife of little stature, alleadging therewith a good reason: Because, say they, his meaning is to get, not a breed of Kings, but Dwarf-kings, or divers Kings, to reigne over us.

Well, upon this first advertisement concerning children, there dependeth another, which they who wrote before us of the like argument, forgat not to set down; and what is that? namely, That they who for procreation of children will come neare unto women, ought to meddle with them either upon empty stomacks, and before they have drunke any wine at all, or at least wise, after they have taken their wine in measure, and soberly: for such will prove commonly winebibbers and drunkards, who were engendred when their fathers were drunken: according to that which *Diogenes* said upon a time unto a youth whom he saw beside himselfe, and far overseene with drinke; my lad, quoth he, thy father gat thee when he was drunke. And thus much may suffice for the generation of children.

As touching their nurture and education, whereof now I am to discourse: That which we are wont generally to say of all Arts and Sciences, the same we may be bold to pronounce of vertue, to wit, that to the accomplishment thereof, and to make a man perfectly vertuous, three things ought to concur, Nature, Reason, and Usage. By Reason, I understand doctrine and precepts: by usage exercise and practice. The first beginnings we have from Nature; progresse and proceeding come by teaching and instruction: exercise and practise is performed by diligence: And all three together bring forth the height of perfection. If any one of these faile, it cannot otherwise be, but that vertue also should have her defect and be maimed: For Nature without learning is blind: Doctrine wanting the gift of nature is defective; and exercise void of the other twaine, imperfect. And verily it fareth in this case much like as in Husbandry and tillage of the earth. For first and formost requisite it is, that the ground be good: Secondly, that the Husbandman be skilfull; and in the third place, that the seed be cleane and well chosen. Semblably, Nature resembleth the soile: the Master who teacheth, representeth the labouring Husbandman; and last of all, the

rules

rules, precepts, admonitions, and examples are compared to the seed. All these good means (I dare with confidence avouch) met together, and inspired their power into the minds of these worthy personages, who throughout the world are so renowned, *Pythagoras* I meane, *Socrates*, *Plato*, and all the rest who have attained to a memorable name and immortall glory. Blessed then is that man and entirely beloved of the gods, whose hap it is by their favour and grace to be furnished with all three. Now if any one be of this opinion, that those who are not endued with the gift of naturall wit, and yet have the helps of true instruction and diligent exercise to the attaining of vertue, cannot by this meanes recover and repaire the foresaid defect: Know he, that he is much deceived, and to say more truly, quite out of the way: for as idlenesse and negligence doth marre and corrupt the goodnesse of nature: so, the industry and diligence of good erudition supplieth the defect, and correcteth the default thereof. Idle and sloathfull persons (we see) are not able to compasse the things that be easie: whereas contrariwise by study and travell, the greatest difficulties are atchieved. Moreover, of what efficacy, and execution, diligence and labour is, a man may easily know by sundry effects that are daily observed. For we do evidently perceive that drops of water falling upon the hard rock do eate the same hollow: Iron and brass we see to weare and consume only by continuall handling: The fellies in Chariot wheels, which by labour are bended and curbed, will not returne and be reduced againe, do what you can, to their former streightnesse: Like as it is impossible by any advice to set straight the crooked staves that Stage-players go withall. And evident it is, that whatsoever against nature is by force and labour changed and redressed, becommeth much better and more sure than those things that continue in their own kind. But, are these the things only wherein appeareth the power of study and diligence? No verily. For there are an infinite number of other experiments, which prove the same most clearely. Is there a peece of ground naturally good? Let it lie neglected, it becommeth wild and barren: Yea, and the more rich and fertile that it is of it selfe, the more waste and fruitlesse it proveth for want of tillage and husbandry. Contrariwise, you shall see another plot hard, rough, and more stony than it should be: which by good ordering and the carefull hand of the husbandman soon bringeth forth faire and goodly fruit. Againe, what trees are there which will not twine, grow crooked, and prove fruitlesse, if good heed be not taken unto them? Whereas, if due regard be had, and that carefulnesse employed about them which becommeth, they beare fruit, and yeeld the same ripe in due season. Is there any body so sound and able, but by neglect, riot, delicacy, and an evill habit or custome it will grow dull, feeble and unlustie, yea, and fall into a misliking and consumption? On the other side, what complexion is there so faint and weake, which is not brought to great strength and perfection in the end by continuall travell and ordinary exercises? Are there any horses in the world, which if they be well handled and broken while they are colts, will not prove gentle in the end, and suffer themselves easily to be mounted and manned? Contrariwise, let them remaine untamed in their youth, strong-headed, stiffe-necked and unruly will they be alwaies after, and never fit for service. And why should we marvell at these and such like matters, considering that many of the most savage and cruell beasts that be, are made gentle and familiar, yea, and brought to hand by labour and paines taken about them? Well said therefore that *Thessalian*, whosoever he was, who being demanded, which *Thessalians* of all others were most dull and softest of spirit, Answered thus, Even they that have given over warfare. But what need we to stand longer upon this point? For certaine it is, that our manners and conditions are qualities imprinted in us by tract and continuance of time: and whosoever saith: that * Morall vertues are gotten by custome, in my conceit speaketh not amisse, but to very great purpose. And therefore with one example and no more produced by *Lycurgus* as touching this mater, I will knit up and conclude my discourse thereof. *Lycurgus*, him I meane who established the Laws of the *Lacedæmonians* took two whelps of one licter, and comming both from the same sire and damme: Those he caused to be nourished and brought up diversly, and unlike one to the other; that as the one proved a greedy and ravenous cur, and full of shrewd turnes: so the other was given to hunting, and minded nothing but to quest and follow the game. Now upon a certaine day afterwards, when the *Lacedæmonians* were met together in a frequent Assembly, he spake unto them in this manner, My Masters Citizens of *Lacedæmon*, Of what importance to engender vertue in the heart of man, custome, nurture, discipline and education is, I will presently shew unto you by an evident demonstration: and with that he brought forth in the sight of them all those two whelps, and set directly before them a great platter of sops in broth, and therewith let loose also a live hare: but behold, one of them followed immediately after the hare, but the other ran straight to slap in the platter aforesaid. The *Lacedæmonians* wist not what to make of this, nor to what purpose he shewed unto them these two dogs beforesaid untill he brake out into this speech. These two dogs (quoth he) had one damme, and the same sire but being bred and brought up diversly see how the one is become a greedigut, and the other a kind hound. And thus much may serve as touching custome and diversity of education.

* *Græce mihi*, ἠθικὰς ἀρετὰς ἐθικὰς ἄν τις λέγῃ.

It were meet now in the next place to treat of the feeding and nourishing of Infants newly borne. I hold it therefore convenient that mothers reare their babes, and suckle them with their own breasts: For feed them they will with greater affection, with more care and diligence, as loving them inwardly, and (as the Proverbe saith) from their tender nailes, whereas milch nur-

ſes and foſter-mothers carry not ſo kind a heart unto their nurſelings, but rather a fained and counterfeit affection, as being mercenary and loving them indeed for hire only and reward. Furthermore, even nature her ſelfe is ſufficient to prove, that mothers ought to ſuckle and nouriſh thoſe whom they have borne and brought into the world; For to this end hath ſhe given to every living creature that bringeth forth young the food of milke: and in great wiſdome the divine providence hath furniſhed a woman with two teats for this purpoſe, that if happily ſhe ſhould be delivered of two twins at once, ſhe might likewiſe have two fountaines of milke to yeeld nouriſhment for them both. Moreover, by this meanes more kind and loving they will be unto their children: and verily not without great reaſon: For this fellowſhip in feeding together is a bond that knitteth, or rather a wreſt that ſtraineth and ſtretcheth benevolence to the utmoſt. The experience whereof we may ſee even in the very brute and wilde beaſts, which hardly are parted from their company, with whom they have been nouriſhed, but ſtill they lowe and mowe after them. Mothers therefore (as I have ſaid) ought eſpecially to endeavour and do their beſt for to be nurſes of their own children, if it be poſſible. But in caſe they cannot, by reaſon either of ſome bodily infirmity and indiſpoſition that way, (for ſo it may fall out) or that they have a deſire, and do make haſte to be with child againe, and to have more children: then a carefull eye and good regard would be had not to entertaine thoſe for nurſes and governeſſes that come next to hand, but to make choiſe of the very beſt and moſt honeſt that they can come by, and namely, for faire conditions and good behaviour, to chooſe Greekiſh women before any other. For like as the members and limbs of little Infants, ſo ſoon as ever they be borne, are of neceſſity to be formed and faſhioned, that afterwards they may grow ſtraight and not crooked: even ſo, at the very firſt their hearts and manners ought to be framed and ſet in order: For this firſt age of childhood is moiſt and ſoft, apt to receive any impreſſion: whiles the heart is tender every leſſon may be ſoon inſtilled into it, and quickly will take hold, whereas hard things are not ſo eaſie to be wrought and made ſoft. And as Signets or Seales will quickly ſet a print upon ſoft wax; ſo the tender hearts of young children take readily the impreſſion of whatſoever is taught them. In which regard, *Plato*, that heavenly and divine Philoſopher, ſeemeth unto me to have given a wiſe admonition for nurſes, when he warned them not to tell fooliſh tales, nor to uſe vain ſpeeches inconſiderately in the hearing of young infants, for feare leſt at the firſt their minds might apprehend folly and conceive corrupt opinions. Semblably the Poet *Phocylides* ſeemeth to deliver ſage counſell in this behalfe, when he ſaith:

A child of young and tender age
Ought to be taught things good and ſage.

Neither is this precept in any wiſe to be forgotten or paſſed by, That other children alſo who are either to attend upon them whiles they be nurſed and brought up, or to beare them company and be fed together with them, be choſen ſuch as above all things are well mannered, and of good conditions: Then, that they ſpeake the Greeke tongue naturally, and pronounce the ſame moſt plainly and diſtinctly, for feare, leſt if they ſort with ſuch feeres as either in language are barbarous, or in behaviour lewd and ungracious, they catch infection from them, and be ſtained with their vices. For ſuch old ſawes and Proverbs as theſe are not ſo rife without good reaſon, *If thou converſe and cohabite with a lame cripple, thou wilt ſoon learne to limpe and halt thy ſelfe.*

Now when children be grown to that age, wherein they are to be committed unto the charge of Tutors, Schoolemaſters and governours: then parents ought to have an eſpeciall care of their ſtate, namely, under whom they ſet them to be trained up: leſt for want of good providence and fore-ſight they betray them into the hands of ſome vile ſlaves, baſe barbarians, vain and light-headed perſons. For moſt abſurd and ridiculous is the practice of many men in this point: who if they have any ſervants more vertuous or better diſpoſed than others, ſome of them they appoint to husbandry and tillage of their ground; others they make Maſters of their ſhips. They employ them (I ſay) either in Merchandiſe to be their Factors, or as Stewards of their houſe to receive and pay all; or elſe to be banquers, and ſo they truſt them with the exchanging and turning of their monies. But if they meet with one ſlave among the reſt that uſeth to be cup-ſhotten, given to gluttony and belly cheare, or otherwiſe is untoward for any good ſervice, him they ſet over their children to bring them up: Whereas indeed a governour over youth ſhould be well given, and of a right good nature himſelfe, ſuch a one as *Phœnix* was, who had the breeding and education of *Achilles*. The principall point therefore and moſt important of all that hitherto hath been alledged is this, That choice men be ſought out for to be teachers and maſters of our children; who live in good name and without Challenge, whoſe carriage and behaviour is blameleſſe; and who for their knowledge and experience of the world are the beſt that may be found. For ſurely the ſource and root of all goodneſs and honeſty is the good education and training up of our children in their tender age. And like as good husbandmen and gardeners are wont to pitch props and ſtakes cloſe unto their young plants, to ſtay them up and keep them ſtraight: even ſo diſcreet and wiſe teachers plant good precepts and wholſome inſtructions round about their young Schollars, to the end that thereby their manners may bud forth commendably, and be framed to the rule of vertue. But contrariwiſe you ſhall have ſome fathers now adaies, that deſerve no better than to be ſpit at in their very faces; who either upon ignorance, or for want

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of experience, before any triall made of thoſe Maſters, who are to have the conduct and charge of their children, commit them hand over head to the tuition of lewd perſons, and ſuch as beare ſhew and make profeſſion of that which they are not. Neither were this abſurdity altogether ſo groſſe and ridiculous, if ſo be they faulted herein of meere ſimplicity and default of foreknowledge. But here is the height of their folly and errour, that themſelves knowing otherwhiles the inſufficiency, yea, and the naughtineſſe of ſome ſuch Maſters, better than they doe who advertiſe them thereof; yet for all that they commit their children unto them, partly being overcome by the flattery of claw-backs, and partly willing to gratifie ſome friends upon their kind and earneſt entreaty. Wherein they do much like for all the world to him, who lying very ſick in body, for to content and ſatisfie a friend, leaveth an expert and learned Phyſitian who was able to cure him, and entertaineth another blind leech, who for want of skill and experience quickly killeth him: or elſe unto one who being at ſea, forgoeth an excellent Pilot whom he knoweth to be very skilfull, and for the love of a friend maketh choice of another that is moſt inſufficient. O *Jupiter*, and all the gods in heaven! Is it poſſible that a man, bearing the name of a father, ſhould make more account of a friends requeſt, than of the good education of his own children? Which conſidered, had not that ancient Philoſopher *Crates* (thinke you) juſt occaſion to ſay often times, that if poſſibly he might, he would willingly mount to the higheſt place of the City, and there cry out aloud in this manner: What meane you my Maſters, and whether run you headlong, carking and caring all that ever you can to gather goods and rake riches together as you do: whiles in the meane time you make little or no reckoning at all of your children, unto whom you are to leave all your wealth? To which exclamation of his I may adde thus much moreover, and ſay, That ſuch fathers are like unto him that hath great regard of his ſhooe, but taketh no heed unto his foot. And verily, a man ſhall ſee many of theſe fathers, who upon a covetous mind, and a cold affection toward their own children, are grown to this paſſe, that for to ſpare their purſe, and eaſe themſelves of charge, chooſe men of no worth to teach them: which is as much as to ſeeke a good market where they may buy ignorance cheapeſt. Certes *Ariſtippus* ſaid very well to this purpoſe, when upon a time he prettily mocked ſuch a father who had neither wit nor underſtanding, and gybed pleaſantly with him in this manner: For when he demanded of him how much he would take for the training up and teaching of his ſon? He anſwered, An hundred Crowns: A hundred Crowns! quoth the father: by *Hercules* I ſweare, you aske too much out of the way; For with a hundred crowns I could buy a good ſlave. True quoth *Ariſtippus* againe, Lay out this hundred crowns ſo, you may have twaine, your ſon for one, and him whom you buy for the other. And is not this a folly of all follies, that nurſes ſhould uſe their yong infants to take meat and feed themſelves with the right hand, yea, and rebuke them if happily they put forth their left: and not to forecaſt and give order that they may learne civility, and heare ſage and wholſome inſtructions? But what befalleth afterwards to theſe good fathers, when they have firſt nurſed their children badly, and then taught them as lewdly? Mary I will tell you. When theſe children of theirs are grown to mans eſtate, and will not abide to heare of living orderly, and as it becommeth honeſt men: but contrariwiſe fall headlong into outragious courſes, and give themſelves wholly to ſenſuality and ſervile pleaſures: Then ſuch fathers all repent for their negligence paſt, in taking no better order for their education: but all too late, conſidering no good enſueth thereupon: but contrariwiſe, the lewd pranks which they commit daily augment their griefe of heart and cauſe them to languiſh in ſorrow. For ſome of them they ſee to keep company with flatterers, paraſites, and ſmell-feaſts, the lewdeſt, baſeſt, and moſt curſed wretches of all other, who ſerve for nothing but to corrupt, ſpoile, and marre youth: Others, to captivate and ſpend themſelves upon harlots, queanes, and common ſtrumpets, proud and ſumptuous in expence; the entertainment of whom is infinitely coſtly. Many of them conſume all in delicate fare, and feeding a dainty and fine tooth: Many of them fall to dice, and with mumming and masking hazard all they have. And divers of them againe entangle themſelves in other vices more hardy and adventurous, courting faire dames, and making love to other mens wives: for which purpoſe they walke diſguiſed in the night, like the frantick Prieſts of *Bacchus*, to commit adulteries, buying ſometimes one only nights pleaſure with the price of their life; Whereas if ſuch as theſe had converſed before with any Philoſopher, they would never have taken ſuch waies as this, and given themſelves to like vanities: but rather they would have turned over a new leafe, and learned a leſſon of *Diogenes*, who in words not very civill and ſeemly, howbeit to the point not untruly, gave this counſell, and ſaid, Go thy waies to the Stews (I adviſe thee) and enter into ſome Brothel houſe, where thou maiſt know how the pleaſure that coſteth little or nothing differeth not from that which is bought full dearely.

To knit up therefore all in one ſum I will conclude, and this my concluſion ought of right to be eſteemed for an oracle, rather than a ſimple counſell and admonition; That the beginning, midſt, and end of all theſe matters lieth only in a vertuous nurture and holy education, which I avouch are the very meanes that be operative and powerfull for the attaining both of vertue and true happineſſe. As for all other things which we count good in this world are in compariſon hereof, mortall, tranſitory, ſmall, and not worth the ſeeking after with ſuch care and ſtudy. Nobility I confeſſe to be a goodly thing, but it is the gift of our Anceſtors. Riches, who doubteth that they be gay and precious matters? Howbeit, lying in the power of fortune only, who taketh the

ſame many times from thoſe that poſſeſſe them, and giveth them away to ſuch as never look for them. Moreover, much wealth is the very marke wherat they ſhoot who are common cut-purſes, privy and domeſticall theeves, Sycophants, and promoters, and that which is moſt, the wickedeſt perſons in the world oftentimes meet therewith. Glory and honour are things venerable, howbeit uncertaine and mutable. Beauty is lovely, and very much deſired, but it continueth a ſmall while. Health is worth much, and yet you ſee how ſoon it changeth. Strength of body who wiſheth not? But quickly it is decayed and gone, either by ſickneſſe or yeares: inſomuch, as whoſoever vaunteth and beareth himſelfe in his able body, is greatly deceived, and commeth far ſhort of his reckoning. For what is mans force, compared with that of other beaſts, I meane, Elephants, Buls, and Lions? It is learning and knowledge only which in us is divine, heavenly, and immortall. For in mans nature two parts there are to be conſidered of all other moſt principall, to wit, underſtanding, and ſpeech. And of theſe, underſtanding is as it were the Maſter that commandeth: Speech, the ſervant that obeyeth. Now the foreſaid underſtanding is not expoſed to the injury of fortune: no ſlanders raiſed by Sycophants can take it away: Sickneſſe hath no power to corrupt and deſtroy it; neither doth it decay or periſh by old age: For it is the only thing that being in yeares waxeth young and freſh. Length of time, which doth diminiſh and impaire all things elſe, addeth ſtill more knowledge to our underſtanding, the elder that we are. The violence of war, which in manner of a ſtreame caſteth down and carrieth all away with it, is not able to make havock and ſpoyle of knowledge and learning: that only is not in danger thereof. And in my conceit, *Stilpo* the Megarian Philoſopher gave a moſt worthy and memorable anſwer unto King *Demetrius*, who having forced, ſacked, and raſed the City of *Megara* to the very foundation, demanded of him what loſſes he ſuſtained in that generall ſacking? None at all (quoth he) For war can make no ſpoile of vertue. To which anſwer of his, accordeth and ſoundeth well the Apophthegme of *Socrates*, who (as I take it) being asked of *Gorgias*, what opinion he had of the great King and Monarch of the Perſians in thoſe daies, whether he deemed him happy or no? I wot not (quoth he) how he is furniſhed with vertue and learning: as if he judged that true felicity conſiſted in theſe two things, and not in the tranſitory gifts of fortune.

But as my counſell and advice unto parents is, to hold nothing in the world more deere and precious, than to traine up their children in good letters, and vertuous manners: ſo I ſay againe, that they ought to have an eye unto that literature and inſtitution which is ſound, pure and uncorrupt: furthermore, to ſequeſter and withdraw their children, as far as poſſibly they can, from the vanity and fooliſh deſire to be ſeen and heard in the frequent and publike aſſemblies of the people. For commonly we find, that to pleaſe a multitude, is to diſpleaſe the wiſer ſort. And that I ſpeake truth herein, *Euripides* giveth good teſtimony in theſe verſes:

No filed tongue I have, nor eloquence,
To ſpeake in place of frequent audience:
Among my feeres and thoſe in number few,
I love to give advice, and make no ſhew:
For, thoſe whoſe ſpeech doth pleaſe a multitude,
With learned men are fooliſh thought and rude.

For mine own part, I obſerve thoſe men who endeavour to ſpeake to the appetite and pleaſure of the baſe and vulgar ſort, that ordinarily they become looſe and diſſolute perſons, abandoned to all ſenſuality. And verily not without great apparance of reaſon: For if to gratifie and content others, they have no regard of honeſty: more likelihood there is a great deale, that for to do a pleaſure to themſelves, and feed their own humour and appetite, they will forget all honour and devoir; yea, and ſooner give the reines to their own delights, than follow the ſtreight rules of temperance and ſobriety.

But now, what good thing is there moreover that we are to teach our children? and whereto ſhould we adviſe them for to give their minds? A goodly matter no doubt it is to do nothing raſhly, nor to ſpeake a word unadviſedly: But (as the old Prouerbe ſaith) whatſoever is faire and goodly, the ſame alſo is hard and difficult. As for theſe orations which be made *extempore*, and without premeditation, they go away with great facility, and are very raſh and full of vanity: And ſuch commonly as ſo ſpeake know not well either where to begin or when to make an end. Alſo, over and above other abſurdities and faults which they commit, who are accuſtomed in this wiſe to parle at a venture, and to let their tongue run at randome, know not how to keep any meane or meaſure of ſpeech, but fall into a marvellous ſuperfluity and exceſſe of words: Whereas on the contrary ſide, when a man thinketh before hand what he ſhould ſay, he will never overſhoot him ſo far as to paſſe beyond the bounds of temperate and proportionable language. *Pericles*, as we have been given to underſtand, being oftentimes called upon and importuned by the people, and that expreſly by name, for to deliver his opinion as touching a matter in queſtion, would not ſo much as riſe from his place, but excuſed himſelfe, and ſaid, I am not provided to ſpeake. Semblably *Demoſthenes*, one who greatly affected the ſaid *Pericles*, and followed his ſteps in policy and managing of State-affaires, being called by the Athenians to ſit in counſell with them, and requeſted to give his advice in certaine points, refuſed and made the ſame anſwer, ſaying, I have not yet thought upon it, neither am I prepared. But peradventure ſome man will ſay,

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this is an headleſſe tale and a deviſed report received by tradition from hand to hand, and not grounded upon any certaine teſtimony. Liſten then what he ſaith himſelfe in that oration which he made againſt *Midias*, wherein he ſetteth evidently before our eyes, the profit that commeth by premeditation. For in one place thereof, theſe be his words: "My Maſters of *Athens*, I con-"feſſe plainly, and cannot deny or diſſemble, that I have taken as much paines in compoſing of this "oration as poſſibly I could: For an idle wretch I had been, if having ſuffered, and ſuffering ſtill "ſuch indignities as theſe, I would not conſider and ſtudy before-hand what I had to ſay in rea-"ſon concerning theſe matters. Neither alledge I this, as one who condemned altogether the promptitude and readineſſe of the tongue, and the gift of utterance *ex tempore*, but the ordinary cuſtome and exerciſe thereof in every ſmall matter, and of no great importance. For otherwhiles it is tolerable; provided alwaies that we uſe it ſo as we would take a purging medicine. And to ſpeake more plainly, my meaning is, that I would not have young men before they be grown to mans age, for to ſpeake ought without good adviſe and conſideration. But after they be well grounded, and have gathered ſufficient root which may yeeld pithy ſpeech, then if occaſion be offered, and that they be called unto it, I thinke it convenient they ſhould be allowed to ſpeake freely. For even as they who have been fettered a long time, and worne irons on their feet, when they are looſed from their gyves, cannot go well at the firſt, becauſe they have continued ſuch a while with clogs at their heeles, but ever and anon are ready to trip and ſtumble: ſo it fareth with thoſe that of long time have been tongue-tied (as it were) and reſtrained of their liberty of ſpeech: For if happily there be preſented ſome matter, whereto they are to ſpeake on a ſudden they will retaine ſtill the ſame manner and forme of ſtile, and ſpeake no otherwiſe than they did before with premeditation. Mary, to ſuffer young boyes to make lubitany, and inconſiderate orations, is the next way to bring them to vaine babling, and cauſeth them to utter many words altogether impertinent to the matter. It is reported, that upon a time a vaine and fooliſh painter came to *Apelles*, and ſhewed him a picture, ſaying withall, This Image I drew thus and thus ſoon. I wot well (quoth *Apelles*) at the firſt ſight, although thou ſaidſt never a word that it was quickly painted and in haſte; and I marvell rather that thou haſt not painted many more ſuch in the ſame time. But to returne againe to my former diſcourſe which I began withall, as touching ſpeech, like as I would give counſell to beware of glorious and brave words, and to avoid that manner of haughty voice which beſeemeth tragedies, and is meete for Theaters: So I adviſe and admoniſh againe to flye as much that kind of language which is too ſmall and over-lowly: For that the one which is ſo loud and aloft, exceedeth civility: and the other that is as much beneath, bewrayeth overmuch fearefulneſſe. Moreover, as the body ought not only to be ſound and in health, but alſo in good plight and well-liking: ſo our ſpeech ſhould be not only cleare from ſickneſſe, as it were, and malady, but alſo ſtrong and able: For that a thing that is ſound and ſafe only we do but barely praiſe: whereas that which is hardy and adventurous we admire and wonder at. That which I have ſaid, as touching the tongue and ſpeech, the ſame opinion I have of the heart and the diſpoſition thereof. For I would not have a youth to be over-bold and audacious: neither do I like of him if he be too timorous and fearefull: For as the one turneth in the end to preſumption and impudency: ſo the other into ſervile cowardiſe. But here lieth all the maſtery and cunning, as well in this as in all things elſe, namely, to cut even in the midſt, and to hold the golden meane. And ſince I am entred thus far into the diſcourſe as touching the literature and erudition of youth, before I proceed any further I will deliver mine opinion thereof generally in theſe termes: Namely, That to be able to ſpeake of one thing and no more, is fitſt and formoſt in my conceit no ſmall ſigne of ignorance. Then, I ſuppoſe that the exerciſe and practice thereof ſoon bringeth laciety. And againe, I hold it impoſſible to continue evermore in the ſame: For ſo to be ever in one ſong breedeth tediouſneſſe, and ſoon a man is weary of it: whereas variety is alwaies delectable both in this, and alſo in all other objects as well of the eye as the eare. And therefore it behoveth that a child well deſcended and free borne be not ſuffered to want either the ſight or the hearing of all thoſe Arts and liberall Sciences which are linked, as it were, and comprehended within one circle, and thereupon called *Encyclia*, i.e. Circular. Theſe would I have him to run through every one ſuperficially for a taſte only of them all: forasmuch as to attaine unto the perfection thereof were impoſſible. Yet ſo, as his chiefe and principall ſtudy be employed in Philoſophy: which opinion of mine I may very well confirme by a proper ſimilitude. For all one it is as if a man would ſay, a commendable thing it were to ſaile along the coaſts, and ſee many a City: but expedient and profitable to make abode and dwell in the beſt; and much like to that pleaſant and pretty conceited ſpeech of *Bion* the Philoſopher, who ſaid, That even as the lovers and wooers of Lady *Penelope*, when they could not enjoy the Miſtris her ſelfe, went in hand with her waiting maidens, and companied with them: ſo, as many as are not able to attaine unto Philoſophy, ſpend and conſume themſelves in the ſtudy of other Arts which in compariſon of it are nothing worth. And therefore we ought to make this account, that Philoſophy is the principall head (as it were) of all other learning and knowledge whatſoever. True it is, that for the maintenance and preſervation of the body men have deviſed two Arts, to wit, Phyſicke, and bodily exerciſe: of which twaine, the one procureth health; the other addeth thereto a good habitude and ſtrong conſtitution: but for the infirmities and maladies of the ſoule, there is no other phyſick but only Philoſophy: For by the meanes of it, and

together

together with it, we may know what is good, what is bad, what is honeſt and diſhoneſt, what is juſt, and generally what to chooſe, and what to refuſe, how we ought to beare our ſelves towards the gods, and towards our parents, what our demeanour ſhould be with our elders, what regard we are to have of laws, what our carriage muſt be to ſtrangers, to ſuperiours: how we are to converſe with our friends, in what ſort we ought to demeane our ſelves towards our children and wives, and finally, what behaviour it beſeemeth us to ſhew unto our ſervants and familie: Foraſmuch as our duty is to worſhip and adore the gods, to honour our parents, to reverence our ancients, to obey the laws, to give place unto our ſuperiours and betters, to love our friends, to uſe our wives chaſtely and with moderation: to be kind and affectionate to our children, and not to be outragious with our ſervants nor to tyrannize over them. But the principall and chiefe of all is this not to ſhew our ſelves over joyous and merry in proſperity, nor yet exceeding heavy and ſad in adverſity: not in pleaſures and delight diſſolute, nor in anger furious, and tranſported, or rather transformed, into brutiſh beaſts by choler. And theſe I eſteem to be the ſoveraigne fruits that are to be gathered and gotten by Philoſophy. For to carry a generous and noble heart in proſperity is the part of a brave minded man: to live without envy and malice is the ſigne of a good and tractable nature: to overcome pleaſures by the guidance of reaſon is the act of wiſe and ſage men: and to bridle and reſtraine choler is a maſtery that every one cannot skill of: But the height of perfection in my judgement thoſe only attaine unto, who are able to joyne and interming.e the politick government of weale publike with the profeſſion and ſtudy of Philoſophy: For by this meanes (I ſuppoſe) they may enjoy two of the beſt things in the world, to wit the profit of the Common weale by managing State-affaires: and their own good, living ſo as they do in tranquillity and repoſe of mind, by the means of Philoſophy. For whereas there be among men three ſorts of life, namely, Active, Contemplative, and Voluptuous: this laſt named, being diſſolute, looſe, and thrall to pleaſures, is brutiſh, beaſtly, baſe, and vile: The contemplative wanting the active is unprofitable; and the active, not participating with the ſpeculation of Philoſophy, committeth many abſurd enormities, and wanteth ornaments to grace and beautifie it. In which regard men muſt endeavour and aſſay as much as lieth in them both to deale in government of the State, and alſo to give their minds to the ſtudy of Philoſophy, ſo far forth as they have time, and publike affaires will permit. Thus governed in times paſt noble *Pericles*: Thus ruled *Archytas* the *Tarentine*: Thus *Dion* the *Syracuſian*, and *Epaminondas* of *Thebes* ſwayed the State where they lived; and both of them, as well the one as the other, converſed familiarly with *Plato*. As touching the inſtitution of children in good literature, needleſſe (I ſuppoſe) it is to write any more. This only will I adde unto the reſt that hath been ſaid, which I ſuppoſe to be expedient or rather neceſſary: namely, that they make no ſmall account of the workes and books of the ancient Sages and Philoſophers, but diligently collect and gather them together: ſo as they do it after the manner of good husbandmen: For as they do make proviſion of ſuch tooles as pertaine to Agriculture and husbandry, not only to keep them in their poſſeſſion but alſo to uſe them accordingly: ſo this reckoning ought to be made, that the inſtruments and furniture of knowledge and learning be good books if they be read and peruſed: For from thence as from a fountaine they may be ſure to maintaine the ſame.

And here we are not to forget the diligence that is to be imployed in the bodily exerciſe of children: but to remember that they be ſent into the Schooles of thoſe Maſters who make profeſſion of ſuch feats, there to be trained and exerciſed ſufficiently, as well for the ſtreight and decent growth, as for the ability and ſtrength of their bodies: For the faſt knitting and ſtrong complexion of the body in children is a good foundation to make them another day decent and perſonable old men. And like as in time of a calme and faire ſeaſon, they that are at ſea ought to make proviſion of neceſſary meanes to withſtand foule weather and a tempeſt: even ſo, very meet it is, that tender age be furniſhed with temperance, ſobriety, and continency, and even betimes reſerve and lay up ſuch voyage-proviſion for the better ſuſtenance of old age. Howbeit in ſuch order ought this labour and travell of children to be diſpenſed, that their bodies be not exhauſt and dried up, and ſo by that meanes they themſelves be over-wearied, and made either unmeet, or unwilling, to follow their book afreſh, and take their learning: For as *Plato* ſaid very well, Sleep and laſſitude be enemies to learning. But why do I ſtand hereupon ſo much, being in compariſon ſo ſmall a matter?

Proceed I will therefore and make haſte to that which is of greateſt importance, and paſſeth all the reſt that hath been ſaid before: For this I ſay, that youth ought to be trained to military feats, namely, in launcing darts and javelins, in drawing a bow and ſhooting arrows, in chaſing alſo and hunting wild beaſts. Foraſmuch as all the goods of thoſe who are vanquiſhed in fight be expoſed as a prey and booty to the conquerours: neither are they fit for warfare, and to beare armes, whoſe bodies having been daintily brought up in the ſhade, and within houſe, are corpulent, and of a ſoft and delicate conſtitution.

The leane and dry, the raw bone ſouldier fierce,
Who train'd hath been in armes and warlike toyle,
In field whole rankes of enemies will pierce,
And in the liſts all his concurrents foyle.

But what may ſome men ſay unto me? Sir, you have made promiſe to give us examples and precepts,

precepts, concerning the education of all children free borne, and of honeſt parentage: and now, me thinkes, you neglect the education of commoners and poore mens children, and deliver no inſtructions but ſuch as are for gentlemen, and be ſutable to the rich and wealthy only. To which objection it is no hard matter to make anſwer. For mine owne part, my deſire eſpecially is, that this inſtruction of mine might ſerve all: but in caſe there be ſome, who for want of meanes cannot make that uſe and profit, which I could wiſh, let them lay the weight upon fortune, and not blame him who hath given them his advice and counſell in theſe points. And yet for poore men thus much will I ſay, Let them endeavour and ſtraine themſelves to the utmoſt of their power to bring up their children in the beſt manner: and if they cannot reach unto that, yet muſt they aime thereat, and come as neare as their ability will give them leave.

I have been willing to inſert theſe points by the way into this preſent argument, and to charge my diſcourſe over and above therewith, that I might proſecute other precepts remaining behind, which concerne the education of young men. Thus much therefore I ſay moreover, that children muſt be trained and brought to their duty in all lenity, by faire words, gentle exhortations, and mild remonſtrance, and in no wiſe (pardie) by ſtripes and blows: For this courſe of ſwinging and beating ſeemeth meet for bondſlaves, rather than perſons of free condition. And to ſay a truth, by this meanes they become dull and ſenſeleſſe, nay, they have all ſtudy and labour afterwards in hatred and horrour: partly for the ſmart and paine which they abide by ſuch correction, and in part by the contumely and reproach that they ſuſtaine thereby. Praiſe and diſpraiſe be far better and more profitable to children free borne, than all the whips, rods, and boxes in the world: the one for to drive them forwards to well-doing, the other to draw them back from doing ill: but both the one and the other are to be uſed in alternative courſe. One while they would be commended; another while blamed and rebuked: and namely, if at any time they be too jocund and inſolent they ought to be ſnibbed a little and taken down, yea, and put to ſome light ſhame: but ſoon after raiſed up againe by giving them their due praiſes. And herein we muſt imitate good nurſes, who when they have ſet their infants a crying give them the breaſt for to ſtill them againe. Howbeit, a meaſure would be kept, and great heed taken that they be not too highly commended, for feare leſt they grow proud and preſume overmuch of themſelves: For when they be praiſed exceedingly they waxe careleſſe, diſſolute and enervate; neither will they be willing afterwards to take more paines. Moreover, I have known certaine fathers, who through exceſſive love of their children have hated them afterwards. But what is my meaning by this ſpeech? Surely I will declare my mind, and make my words plaine anon by an evident example and demonſtration. Some fathers (I ſay) there be, who upon a hot and haſtie deſire to have their children come ſoon forward, and to be the formoſt in every thing, put them to immoderate travell and exceſſive paines: in ſuch ſort, that they either ſinke under the weight of the burden, and ſo fall into grievous maladies, or elſe finding themſelves thus ſurcharged and overladen, they are not willing to learne that which is taught them. And it fareth with them as it doth with young herbs and plants in a garden, which ſo long as they be watered moderately, are nouriſhed and thrive very well: but if they be over-much drenched with water, they take harme thereby and are drowned: Even ſo we muſt allow unto children a breathing time between their continuall labours: conſidering and making this account, That all the life of man is divided into labour and reſt: and for this cauſe Nature hath ſo ordained, that as there is a time to be awake, ſo we find a time alſo to ſleep. One while there is war, and another while peace: It is not alwaies winter and foule weather, but ſummer likewiſe and a faire ſeaſon. There be appointed not only worke daies to toyle in, but alſo feſtivall holidaies to ſolace and diſport our ſelves. In ſumme, reſt and repoſe is (as it were) the ſauce unto our travell. And this we may obſerve as well in ſenſeleſſe and liveleſſe things, as in living and ſenſible creatures. For we unbend our bowes, and let ſlack the ſtrings of Lutes, Harpes, and ſuch muſicall inſtruments, to the end that we may bend and ſtretch the ſame againe. And in one word, as the body is preſerved and maintained by repletion and evacuation ſucceſſively; ſo the mind likewiſe by repoſe and travell in their turnes.

Furthermore, there be other fathers worthy of rebuke and blame, who after they have once betaken their children to Maſters, Tutors, and Governours, never deigne afterwards themſelves, either to ſee or heare them, whereby they might know how they learne: wherein they do faile very much in their duty. For they ought in proper perſon to make triall how they profit, they ſhould ever and anon (after ſome few daies paſſed between) ſee into their progreſſe and proceeding, and not to repoſe their hope and reſt altogether upon the diſcretion and diſpoſition of a mercenary Maſter. And verily this carefull regard of the fathers, will worke alſo greater diligence in the Maſters themſelves, ſeeing that by this meanes they are called eftſoones, as it were, to account and examined how much they plie their ſchollars, and how they profit under their hands. To this purpoſe may be well applyed a pretty word ſpoken ſometimes by a wiſe eſtugry of a ſtable Nothing (quoth he) feedeth the ſteed ſo fat as doth the Maſters eye.

But above all things the memory of children ought daily to be exerciſed: for that it is, as a man would ſay, the Treaſury and Storehouſe of all learning. Which was the cauſe that the ancient Poets have feigned, That Lady *Mnemoſyne*, that is to ſay, *Memory*, was the mother of the Muſes: Whereby they would ſeeme under an ænigmaticall and darke ſpeech to give us to underſtand, that nothing availeth ſo much either to breed, or to feed and nouriſh learning, as Memory.

And

And therefore great diligence would be used in the exercise thereof every way: whether the children be by nature good of remembrance and retentive: or otherwise of a fickle memory and given to oblivion. For the gift of nature in the one by exercise we shall confirme and augment; and the imperfection or default in the other, by diligence supply and correct: in such sort, that as they shall become better than others; so these shall prove better than themselves. For very wisely to this purpose said the Poet *Hesiodus*:

If little still to little thou do adde,
A heape at length and mickle will be had.

Over and besides, I would not have fathers to be ignorant of another point also, as touching this memorative part and faculty of the mind: namely, that it serveth much not only to get learning and literature, but also is a meanes that carrieth not the least stroke in worldly affaires: For the remembrance of matters past furnisheth men with examples sufficient to guide and direct them in their consultations of future things.

Furthermore, this care would be had of young children, that they be kept from filthy and unseemly speeches: For words (as *Democritus* saith) are the shadows of deeds. Trained also they must be to be courteous, affable, and fair spoken, as well in entertainment of talk with every one, as in saluting and greeting whomsoever they meet: for there is nothing in the world so odious as to be coy and surly of speech; to make it strange and to disdaine for to speake with men. Againe, young students shall make themselves more lovely and amiable to those with whom they converse, in case they be not so opinative and stiffe, that they will not relent nor give place one jot in disputations, if they have once taken a pitch against others. For a commendable and goodly matter it is for a man to know, not only how to overcome, but also to suffer himselfe otherwhiles to be overcome: especially in such things wherein the victory bringeth hurt and damage: For verily such a conquest may well and truly be called, according to the common Proverbe, A Cadmian victory, that is to say, which turneth to the detriment and losse of the winner. In confirmation whereof I may well alledge the testimony of the wise Poet *Euripides*, who in one of his Tragedies hath these verses:

When one of twaine, that argue and dispute,
Grows into heat of words and will not rest:
I hold him much the wiser who is mute
And staies his tongue, that he do not contest.

Now come I to other points wherein youth is to be instructed, and those of no lesse importance, nay, rather I may be bold to say, of greater consequence than all those whereof I have discoursed hitherto: And what be they? Namely, that young men be not riotous, and given to superfluity of expence: That they hold their tongue: That they master their anger: And finally, That they keep their hands pure and cleane. But let us consider these precepts particularly, what each of them in severall doth import? and more easily may they be understood, if we illustrate the same by lively examples. To begin then first with the last: There have been known great personages, who being once permitted to put forth their hands for to take bribes and money unjustly, lost all the honour which they had won the rest of their life time: As for example, * *Gylippus* the *Lacedæmonian*, who having once opened those bags or coffers of money by turning their bottomes upwards, and taken forth what pleased him, was shamefully banished out of *Sparta*, and lived obscurely in exile. As touching the gift of bridling choler, and not to be angry at all, it is a singular vertue, and perfect wise men they are indeed who can so do: Such as *Socrates* was, who being greatly abused by an insolent, audacious, and graceless youth, that spared him not, but had spurned and kicked him with his heeles, seeing those about him to be very angry and out of patience, stamping and faring as though they would run after the party, to be avenged of such an indignity; Hovv novv my Masters, (quoth he) vvhat if an asse had flung out, and given me a rap vvith his heeles, vvould you have had me to have yerked out and kicked him again? Hovvbeit, this ungracious impevvent not cleare avvay vvith impunity: for being rated for his insolence and levvd demeanour and reproached by every man vvith the termes of Winsing asse, Kicking colt, and such like nick-names, he fell into such a fit of melancholie, that he strangled himselfe in a halter. Also vvhen *Aristophanes* the Poet exhibited the Comedie called *Cloudes*, vvherein he let flie and discharged upon *Socrates* all manner of slanders and contumelies that he could devise, insomuch as one of them vvho vvere present at the very time vvhen he railed thus licentiously, demanded of him, and said, Art thou not netled, O *Socrates*, to heare and see thy selfe thus blasoned and noted in publike place? Not a vvhit (quoth he againe) for vvell I vvot, that I am in a Theatre, vvhere I make sport and am laughed at no other vvise than at some great feast: and glad I am that I can make the audience so merrie. The like for all the vvorld is reported of *Archytas*, the *Tarentine*, and *Plato*: the one being returned home from the vvar, vvherein he vvas L. Generall, found his land forlet, neglected and untilled; vvhereupon he sent for his Bailife of husbandrie, vvho had the charge thereof: and vvhen he vvas come before him, Were I not exceeding angrie (quoth he) I vvould make thee feele my fingers, and give thee thy desert. And *Plato* being upon a time displeased vvith a servant of his, vvho had a licorous tooth, and had done some ungracious pranke, called unto him *Speusippus* his sisters son, and said, Go your vvaies, take me this knave aside, and svvinge him vvell: for I my selfe am verie angrie. But some men perhaps

* *Vide Plutarch. Vitæ Lysodi.*

vvill

will ſay unto me, Theſe be hard matters to do and imitate. True it is, I wot well; howbeit, endeavour we muſt and ſtrive with our ſelves what we can, according to the example of theſe worthy men, to cut off ſomewhat of our impatience, and to curb our exceſſive anger: for we may not look to be equall and comparable in any reſpect to them, either in experience and skill or in vertue. Howbeit, let us nevertheleſſe, like the Prieſts and Torch-bearers (if I may ſo ſay) of the gods, ordained to give light, and ſhew unto men the reliques of their wiſdome and learning, no leſſe than if they were very gods, aſſay to follow them, and tread in their ſteps, endeavouring as much as lieth in us, to be furniſhed with their examples for our better inſtruction. As for the rule and government of the tongue (for of it, according to my promiſe, I am to diſcourſe) if there be any man, who thinketh it to be no great maſtery, but a ſmall and frivolous matter, he is very wide and far out of the right way. For a point it is of great wiſdome, to know in time and place to keep ſilence, and far better by many degrees than any ſpeech vvhatſoever. And for this cauſe (I ſuppoſe) it vvas, that our Anceſtors in times paſt inſtituted thoſe preciſe ceremonies of ſacred myſteries, to the end that being uſed to hold our peace by that meanes, vve might transfer that feare which we learned in the ſervice of the gods, to the fidelity and ſecrecy which we are to obſerve in mens affaires; and verily never was there man that repented for holding his tongue, but many a one hath often beſhrewed himſelfe for ſpeaking. Againe, that word which a man hath held in at one time he may eaſily utter at another well enough; but a word once paſſed out of the mouth, he cannot poſſibly recall it againe. I remember that I have heard of an infinite number of men, who by occaſion of an intemperate tongue of their own have fallen headlong into exceeding great calamities, among whom I will ſelect one or two by way of example, to illuſtrate the theame that I have in hand, and overpaſſe the reſt. *Ptolomæus* King of *Ægypt*, him I meane who was ſurnamed *Philadelphus*, eſpouſed his own ſiſter *Arſinoe*, and married her: at what time one *Sotades* came unto him and ſaid, You put your aglet, Sir, thorough the oylet that is not made for it: For this one word he was caſt into priſon, where he remained a long time in miſery, and rotted in the end, ſuffering condigne puniſhment due for his laviſh tongue and fooliſh words: and for that he thought to make other men laugh, himſelfe wept for it a long time after. The like, and in a manner the ſame, both did and ſuffer another, named *Theocritus* the Sophiſter, ſave that the puniſhment which he abid was much more grievous. For when King *Alexander* the Great had by his letters miſſive given commandement that the Greeks ſhould provide Robes of purple againſt his returne, becauſe upon his comming home he minded to celebrate a ſolemne ſacrifice unto the gods, in token of thankſgiving, for that he had atchieved a victory over the Barbarians: by reaſon of which commandement the States and Cities of *Greece* were enjoyned to contribute money by the poll. Then this *Theocritus*, I have ever to this day (quoth he) doubted what *Homer* meant by this word Purple death: but now I know full well that this is the purple death which he ſpeaketh of. By which words he incurred the high diſpleaſure of King *Alexander*, and made him his heavy friend ever after. The ſame *Theocritus* another time procured to himſelfe the deadly hatred of *Antigonus* King of the Macedonians, by reproaching him in way of mockerie with his deformity and defect, for that he had but one eye. For the King having advanced *Eutropion* his Maſter Cook to a place of high calling and command, thought him a meet man to be ſent unto *Theocritus*, as well to give account unto him, as alſo to take account of him reciprocally. *Eutropion* gave him to underſtand ſo much from the King, and about this buſineſſe repaired often unto him. In the end, I know well (quoth *Theocritus*) thou wilt never have done untill thou have made a diſh of meat of me, and ſerve me up raw to the table before this Cyclops to be eaten: twitting the King with his one eye and *Eutropion* with his cookery. But *Eutropion* came upon him againe preſently, and ſaid, Thou ſhalt be then without a head firſt, For I will make thee pay for thy prating and fooliſh tongue, and with that he went immediately to the King, and reported what he had ſaid, who made no more adoe but ſent his writ and cauſed his head to be ſmitten off.

Over and beſides all theſe precepts before rehearſed, children ought to be inured from their very infancy in one thing which is moſt holy and beſeeming religious education, and that is, to ſpeake the truth: For ſurely, lying is a baſe and ſervile vice, deteſtable and hatefull among all men, and not pardonable ſo much as to meane ſlaves, ſuch as have little or no good in them. Now as touching all that which I have delivered and adviſed hitherto, which concerneth the honeſt behaviour modeſty and temperance of young children I have delivered the ſame frankely, reſolutely, and making no doubt thereof. Mary, for one point which now I am to touch and handle, I am not ſo well reſolved, but much diſtracted in my mind hanging to and fro, as it were, in æquall ballance, and know not which way to encline, whether to the one ſide or to another: Inſomuch as I am in great perplexity and feare: neither wote I whether I were better to go forward and utter it, or to turne back and hold my peace. And yet I will take heart, and boldly declare what it is. The queſtion to be debated is this, Whether we ought to permit thoſe that love young boyes, to converſe with them and haunt their company, or contrariwiſe, keep them away and debar them that they neither come neare nor have any ſpeech with them; For when I behold and conſider the auſtere nature and ſeverity of ſome fathers, who for fear that their ſons ſhould be abuſed, will in no wiſe abide that thoſe who love them ſhould in any ſort keep company, or talke with them, but thinke it intollerable, I am affraid either to bring up ſuch an order, or to approve and

maintaine

maintaine the ſame. But when on the other ſide I propound before mine eyes the examp'es of *Socrates*, *Plato*, *Xenophon*, *Æſchines*, *Cebes*, and all the ſute and ſort of thoſe worthy men in times paſt, who allowed the manner of loving young boyes, and by that meanes brought ſuch youths to learne good ſciences, to skill of government and State-matters, and to frame their manners to the rule and ſquare of vertue, I am turned quite and altogether of another mind, yea, and inclined wholly to imitate and follow thoſe great perſonages, who have the teſtimony of the Poet *Euripides* on their ſide, ſaying in one place after this manner,

All loves do not the fleſh groſly reſpect:
One love there is which doth the ſoule affect,
With juſtice beautified and equity,
With innocence likewiſe and chaſtity.

Neither ought we to ſurpaſſe one ſaying of *Plato*, which he delivereth between mirth and good earneſt in this wiſe, Good reaſon it is, quoth he, that they who have done worthy ſervice and atchieved great proweſſe and victory in a battell, be priviledged to kill whom it pleaſeth them among their captives. And for thoſe who deſire nothing but the beauty and freſh floure of the body, mine opinion is they ſhould be put back and kept away: but ſuch in one word as love the beauty of the mind are to be choſen and admitted unto them. Alſo I hold, that ſuch kind love is to be avoided and forbidden, which they practice in *Thebes* and *Elis*, as alſo that which in *Candy* they call Raviſhment: but that which is uſed in *Athens* and *Lacedæmon*, we ought to receive and allow, even in young and faire boyes. Howbeit concerning this matter every man may for me opine what he thinketh good, and do as he ſeeth cauſe and can find in his heart.

Moreover, having ſufficiently treated of the good nurture and modeſt behaviour of children, I purpoſe to proceed unto the age of young men: but firſt I will ſpeake my mind briefly once for all as touching one point. For many a time I have complained of thoſe who have brought up divers ill cuſtomes, and this above the reſt, namely, to provide for their children whiles they be very young and little, maſters, teachers, and governours: but after they are grown once to ſome yeares, they give them head, and ſuffer them to be carried away with the violent heat of youth: whereas contrariwiſe it were meet and needfull, to have a more carefull eye unto them, and to hold a ſtreighter hand over them at that time, than during their infancy and childhood. For who knoweth not, that the faults of young children are but ſmall, light and eaſie to be amended, as for example, ſome ſhrewdneſſe and little diſobedience to their tutors and governours, or happily ſome negligence and default in not giving eare to their teachers, and not doing as their Maſters apppoint them: But contrariwiſe the offences that yonkers commit are many times outragious and hainous, as gormandiſe and ſurfetting, robbing of their fathers, dice play in maskes and mummeries, exceſſe in feaſting, banqueting, quaffing and carouſing, wanton love of young maidens, adulteries committed upon married wives, and thereby the overthrow of houſes, and confuſion of families. In regard of which enormities it behoveth parents to repreſſe and bridle their wild and untamed affections with great care and vigilance: For this flower of age having no forecaſt of thrift, but ſet altogether upon ſpending, and given to delights and pleaſures winſeth and flingeth out like a skittiſh and frampold horſe, in ſuch ſort that it had need of a ſharpe bit and ſhort curb: And therefore they that endeavour not by all good meanes forcibly to hold in and reſtraine this age, but give young men liberty and ſuffer them to do after their own mind, plunge them ere they be aware into a licentious courſe of life and all manner of wickedneſſe. Wherefore good and wiſe fathers ought in this age eſpecially to be vigilant and watchfull over their ſons, they ought, I ſay, to keep them down and inure them to wiſdome and vertue, by teaching by threatning, by intreaty and prayers, by advice and remonſtrances, by perſwaſion and counſell, by faire promiſes, by ſetting before their eyes the examples of ſome who being abandoned to their pleaſures and all ſenſuality have fallen headlong into great calamities, and wofull miſeries: and contrariwiſe, of others who by maſtering their luſts, and conquering their delights, have won honour and glorious renowne. For ſurely theſe be the two Elements and foundations of vertue, Hope of reward and feare of puniſhment: For, as hope inciteth and ſetteth them forward to enterpriſe the beſt and moſt commendable acts, ſo feare plucketh them back, that they dare not enter upon lewd and wicked pranks. In ſumme, Fathers ought with great care to divert their children from frequenting ill company, for otherwiſe they ſhall be ſure to catch infection and carry away the contagion of their lewdneſſe. This is that *Pythagoras* expreſly forbiddeth in his Ænigmaticall precepts under covert and darke words, which becauſe they are of no ſmall efficacy to the attaining of vertue, I will briefly ſet down by the way, and open their meaning. Taſte not (quoth he) of the blacke tailed fiſhes, *Melanuri*, which is as much to ſay, as, Keep not company with infamous perſons, and ſuch as for their naughty life are noted (as it were) with a blacke coale. Paſſe not over a ballance, That is, we ought to make the greateſt account of equity and juſtice, and in no caſe to tranſgreſſe the ſame. Sit not upon the *meaſure *Chœnix*, That is to ſay, we are to fly ſloath and idleneſſe, that we may forecaſt to make proviſion of things neceſſary to this life. Give not every man thy right hand, which is all one with this, Make no contracts and bargaines indifferently with all perſons. Weare not a ring ſtreight upon thy finger, i.e. Live in freedome and at liberty; neither intangle and clog thy life with troubles as with gyves. Dig not nor rake into the fire with a ſword: whereby he giveth us a caveat, not to provoke farther a man that

* *Chœnix* contained two ſextars, or after ſome a ſextar and half, which was *dimenſum quotidianum. Vide Cat. Rhediq. lib. 16 cap. 17. antiq. lec.*

that is angry, for that is not meet and expedient: but rather to give place unto those that are in heat of choller. Eate not thy heart, that is to say, offend not thine own soule, nor hurt and consume it with pensive cares. Abstaine from beanes, i.e. Intermeddle not with the affaires of State and government: for that in old time men were wont to passe their voyces by beanes, and so proceeded to the election of Magistrates. Put not viands in a chamber-pot: whereby he signifieth, that we should not commit good and civill words to a wicked mind; because speech is the nutriment of the understanding, which becommeth polluted by the lewdnesse of men. Returne not back from the limits and confines when thou comest unto them, that is to say, If we perceive death approaching, and that we are come to the uttermost bounds of our life, we ought to beare our death patiently, and not be discouraged thereat.

But now it is time to return again to my matter which I proposed before in the beginning, namely, as I have already said, we are to withdraw our children from the society and companie of lewd persons, and flatterers especiallie: for that which many a time and often I have said to divers and sundry fathers, I will now repeat once againe, namely, That there is not a more mischievous and pestilent kind of men, or who do greater hurt to youth, and sooner overthrow them, then these flatterers, who are the undoing both of fathers and sons, causing the old age of the one, and the youth of the other, wretched and miserable, presenting with their lewd and wicked counsels an inevitable bait, to wit, Pleasure, wherewith they are sure to be caught. Fathers exhort their sons that be wealthy to sobriety; and these incite them to drunkennels. Fathers give them counsell to live chaste and continent; these provoke them to lust and looseneſſe of life. Fathers bid them to save, spare, and be thrifty; these will them to spend, scatter, and be wasters. Fathers advise their children to labour and travell; these flatterers give them counsell to play or sit still and do nothing. What? all our life, say they, is no more but a moment and minute of time, to speake of: we must live therefore, and enjoy our own, whiles we have it: we must not live beside our selves, and languish. What need you regard and care for the menaces of a father, an old doting foole carrying death in his face, and having one foot in the grave, we shall see him one of these daies turne up his heels, and then will we soon have him forth, and carry him aloft bravely to his grave. You shall have one of these come, and bring unto a youth some common harlot out of the stinking stewes, having borne him in hand before, that she is some brave dame and citizens wife, for to furnish whom, he must rob his father, there is no remedy. Thus fathers, good men, in one houre are bereaved and spoyled of that which they had saved many a yeare for the maintenance of their old age. To be short, a wretched and curſed generation they be; hypocrites, pretending friendship, but they cannot skill of plaine dealing and franke speech. Rich men they claw, sooth up and flatter: the poore they contemne and despise. It seemeth they have learned the Art of singing to the Harpe, for to seduce young men: for when their young masters, who maintaine and feed them, begin to laugh, then they set up by and by a loud laughter, then they yawn and shew all their teeth; counterfeit crankes, fained and supposed men; bastard members of mankind and this life; who compose themselves, and live to the will and pleasure of rich men: and notwithstanding their fortune is to be free borne, and of franke condition, yet they choose voluntarily to be slaves: who thinke they have great injury done unto them if they may not live in all fulneſſe and superfluitie, to be kept delicately, and do nothing that good is. And therefore all fathers that have any care of their childrens good education and well-doing, ought of necessity to chase and drive away from them these graceleſſe imps, and shameleſſe beasts: they shall do well also to keep from them such schoole-fellows as be unhappy and given to do shrewd turnes: for such as they are enough to corrupt and marre the best natures in the world.

All these rules and lessons which hitherto I have delivered, do concerne honesty, vertue and profit: but those that now remaine behind, pertaine rather to humanity, and are more agreeable to mans nature. For in no case would I have fathers to be very hard, sharp, and rigorous to their children: but I could rather wish and desire that they winke at some faults of a young man, yea, and pardon the same when they espy them, remembring that they themselves were sometimes young. For like as Physitians mingling and tempering otherwhiles some sweet juyce or liquor with bitter drugs and medicines, have devised that pleasure and delight should be the meanes and way to do their patients good: Even so, fathers ought to delay their eager reprehensions and cutting rebukes with kindneſſe and clemency: one while letting the bridle loose, and giving head a little to the youthfull desires of their children: another while againe reining them short, and holding them in as hard: but above all, with patience gently to beare with their faults. But if so be fathers cannot otherwise do, but be soone angry; then they must as soone have done and be quickly pacified. For I had rather that a father should be hasty with his children, so he be appeased anon, than slow to anger, and as hard to be pleased again. For when a father is so hard-hearted, that he will not be reconciled but carrieth still in mind the offence that is done, it is a great signe that he hateth his children. And I hold it good that fathers sometime take not knowledge of their childrens faults, and in this case make some use of hard hearing and dimme sight, which old age bringeth ordinarily along with it. as if by reason of these infirmities they neither saw somewhat when they see well enough, nor heard that which they heare plainely. We beare with the faults of friends; what strange matter is it then to tolerate the imperfections of our own children? Many a time when our servants have over-drunke themselves, and surfeited

therewith, we ſearch not too narrowly into them, nor rebuke them ſharpely: therefore keep thy ſon one while ſhort, be franke another while, and give him money to ſpend freely. Thou hait been highly offended, and angry with him once, pardon him another time for it. Hath he practiſed ſecretly with any one of thy houſhold ſervants, and beguiled thee? Diſſemble the matter and bridle thine ire. Hath he been at one of thy farmes, met with a good yoke of oxen and made money thereof? Commeth he in the morning to do his duty and bid thee good morrow, belching ſoure, and ſmelling ſtrongly of wine, which the day before he drunke at the taverne with companions like himſelf? Seem to know nothing. Senteth he of ſweet perfumes, & coſtly pomanders? Hold thy peace and ſay nothing. Theſe are the means to tame and break a wild and coltiſh youth. True it is, that ſuch as naturally be ſubject to wantonneſſe or carnall luſt, and will not be reclaimed from it, nor give eare to thoſe that rebuke them, ought to have wives of their own, and to be yoked in marriage: for ſurely this is the beſt and ſureſt meanes to bridle thoſe affections, and to keep them in order. And when fathers are reſolved upon this point, what wives are they to ſeeke for them? Surely thoſe, that are neither in bloud much more noble, nor in ſtate far wealthier than they: For an old ſaying it is and a wiſe, Take a wife according to thy ſelfe. As for thoſe that wed women far higher in degree, or much wealthier than themſelves, I cannot ſay they be husbands unto their wives, but rather ſlaves unto their wives goods.

I have yet a few ſhort leſſons to annexe unto thoſe above rehearſed, which when I have ſet down, I will conclude, and knit up theſe precepts of mine. Above all things fathers are to take heed, that they neither commit any groſſe fault, nor remit any one part of their own duty: to the end they may be as lively examples to their own children; who looking into their life as into a cleare mirrour, may by the precedents by them given, forbeare to do or ſpeake any thing that is unſeemly and diſhoneſt: For ſuch fathers who reprove their children for thoſe parts which they play themſelves, ſee not how under the name of their children they condemne their own ſelves. But ſurely, all thoſe generally who are ill livers, have not the heart to rebuke ſo much as their own ſervants; much leſſe dare they find fault with their children. And that which is worſt of all, in living ill themſelves, they teach and counſell their ſervants and children to do the ſame: For looke where old folke be ſhameleſſe, there muſt young people of neceſſity be moſt graceleſſe and impudent. Endeavour therefore we ought for the reformation of our children, to do our ſelves all that our duty requireth: and herein to imitate that noble Lady *Eurydice*, who being a Sclavonian born, and moſt barbarous, yet for the inſtruction of her own children ſhe took paines to learne good letters when ſhe was well ſtept in yeares. And how kind a mother ſhe was to her children, this Epigram which ſhe her ſelfe made and dedicated to the Muſes, doth ſufficiently teſtifie and declare:

This Cupid *here of honeſt love a true Memoriall is,*
Which whilom Dame Eurydice *of* Hierapolis
To Muſes nine did dedicate: whereby in ſoule and mind
Conceiv'd ſhe was in latter daies, and brought forth fruit in kind.
For when her children were well grown; good ancient Lady ſhe,
And carefull mother took the paines to learne the A.B.C.
And in good letters did ſo far proceed, that in the end
She taught them thoſe ſage leſſons all, which they might comprehend.

But now to conclude this Treatiſe, To be able to obſerve and keep all theſe precepts and rules together which I have before ſet down, is a thing happily that I may wiſh for, rather than give adviſe and exhort unto. Howbeit, to affect and follow the greater part of them, although it require a rare felicity and ſingular diligence; yet it is a thing that man by nature is capable of, and may attaine unto.

How a Young Man ought to heare Poets, and how he may take profit by reading Poems.

The Summary.

For aſmuch as young Students are ordinarily allured as with a bait by reading of Poets, in ſuch ſort, as willingly they employ their time therein, conſidering that Poeſie hath I wot not what Sympathy with the firſt heats of this age: therefore by good right this preſent diſcourſe is placed next unto the former. And albeit, to ſpeake properly, it pertaineth unto thoſe only who read ancient Poets, as well Greeke as Latine, to take heed and beware how they take an impreſſion of dangerous opinions, in regard either of religion or manners: yet a man may comprehend likewiſe under it all other profane authors, out of which a mind that is not corrupt may gather profit, ſo they be handled wiſely, and uſed with diſcretion. To which effect Plutarch *delivereth in this treatiſe good precepts: And after he hath ſhewed generally,*

generally, that in Poesie there is delight and danger withall: he refuteth briefly those who flatly condemne it: Then, as he proceedeth to advertise that this ground and foundation is to be laid, namely, that Poets are liers; he describeth what their fictions be, how they ought to be considered, and what the scope and marke is whereat Poesie doth aime and shoot: Afterwards he adviseth to weigh and ponder well the intention of Poets, unto which they addresse and accommodate their verses: to beware of their repugnances and contradictions: and to the end that we be not so soone damnified by any dangerous points which they deliver one after another, to oppose against them the opinions and counsels of other persons of better marke. Which done, he addeth moreover and saith, That the sentences intermingled here and there in Poets, do reply sufficiently against the evill doctrine that they may seeme to teach elsewhere: also, in taking heed to the diverse significations of words to be rid and freed from great encumbrances and difficulties: discoursing moreover how a man may make use of their descriptions of vices and vertues: also, of the words and deeds of those personages whom they bring in: searching unto the reasons and causes of such speeches and discourses: thereout to draw in the end a deeper sense and higher meaning, reaching even to Morall Philosophy, and the gentle framing of the mind unto the love of vertue. And for that there be some hard and difficult places, which like unto forked waies, may leave the minds of the Readers doubtfull and in suspense: he sheweth that it is an easie matter to apply the same well, and that withall, a man may reforme those sentences ill placed, and accommodate them to many things. And in conclusion, framing this discourse to his principall intention, he treateth how the praises and dispraises which Poets attribute unto persons are to be considered: and that we ought to confirme all that which we find good in such authors by testimony taken out of Philosophy, the only scope whereunto young men must tend in reading of Poets.

Reading and hearing of Poems and Poets.

THat which the Poet *Philoxenus* said of flesh, that the sweetest is that which is least flesh: of fish likewise that the most savorie is that which is least fish, let us, O *Marcus Sedatus*, leave to be decided and judged by those, who, as *Cato* said, had their pallats more quick and sensible than their hearts. But, that young men take more pleasure in those Philosophicall discourses, which savour least of Philosophy, and seeme rather spoken in mirth than in earnest, and are more willing to give eare thereto, and suffer themselves more easily to be led and directed thereby, is a thing to us notorious and evident. For we see that in reading not only *Æsops* fables, and the fictions of Poets, but also the book of *Heraclides*, entituled *Abaris*, and that of *Ariston*, named *Lycas*; wherein the opinions of Philosophers, as touching the soule, are mingled with tales and feigned narrations devised for pleasure, they be ravished, as one would say, with great contentment and delight. And therefore such youths ought not only to keep their bodies sober and temperate in the pleasures of meat and drinke, but also much more to accustome their minds to a moderate delight in those things which they heare and read, using the same temperately as a pleasant and delectable sauce, to give a better and more savoury taste to that which is healthful, wholsome and profitable therein. For neither those gates that be shut in a City do guard the same and secure it for being forced and won, if there be but one standing open to receive and let in the enemies: nor the temperance and continency in the pleasures of other senses preserve a young man for being corrupted and perverted, if for want of forecast and heed-taking he give himselfe to the pleasure only of the eare. But for that the hearing approacheth nearer to the proper seat of reason and understanding (which is the braine) so much the more hurt it doth unto him that receiveth delectation thereby, if it be neglected and not better heed taken thereto. Now forasmuch happily, as it is neither possible nor profitable to restraine from the reading and hearing of Poems, such young men as are of the age either of my son *Soclarus*, or of your *Cleander*, let us, I pray you have a carefull eye unto them, as standing more in need of a guide now to direct them in their readings, than they did in times past to stay and dade them when they learned to go. This is the reason, that me thought in duty I was bound to send unto you in writing, that which not long since I discoursed of by mouth, as touching the writings of Poets: to the end that you may read it your selfe, and if you find that the reasons therein delivered be of no lesse vertue and efficacy than the stones called Amethysts, which some take before and hang about their necks, to keep them from drunkennesse as they sit at banquets, drinking wine merrily; you may impart and communicate the same to your son *Cleander*, to preoccupate and prevent his nature which being not dull and heavy in any thing, but every way quick, lively and pregnant, is more apt and eathe to be led by such alurements.

In Polypes head there is to be had,
One thing that good is, and another as bad,

for that the flesh thereof is pleasant and savoury enough in taste to him that feedeth thereupon but (as they say) it causeth troublesome dreames in the sleep, and imprinteth in the fantasie strang and monstrous visions. Semblably, there is in Poesie much delectation and pleasure, enough to entertaine and feed the understanding and spirit of a young man: yet nevertheless, he shall meet with that there which will trouble and carry away his mind into errours, if his hearing be not well guided and conducted by sage direction. For very well and fitly it may be said not only of the lard of *Ægypt*, but also of Poetry;

Mixed drugs plenty, as well good as bad,
Med'cines and poyſons are there to be had,

which it bringeth forth and yeeldeth to as many as converſe therein. Likewiſe:

Therein ſweet love and wantonneſſe,
with dalliance you ſhall find;
And ſugered words, which do beguile
the beſt and wiſeſt mind.

For that which is ſo deceitfull and dangerous therein, toucheth not at all thoſe that be witleſſe ſots, fooles, and groſſe of conceit. Like as *Simonides* anſwered upon a time to one, who demanded of him, Why he did not beguile and circumvent the Theſſalians as well as all other Greeks; Becauſe, quoth he, they are too ſottiſh for me to deale withall, and ſo rude, that I cannot skill of deceiving them. *Gorgias* alſo the Leontine was wont to ſay of a Tragedy, That it was a kind of deceit, whereby he that deceived became more juſt than he who deceived not; and he that was deceived wiſer than another who was not deceived. What is then to be done? Shall we conſtraine our youth to go aboord into the Brigantine or Barke of *Epicurus*, to ſaile away and flie from Poetry, by plaſtring and ſtopping their eares with hard and ſtrong waxe, as *Ulyſſes* ſometimes ſerved thoſe of *Ithaca*? Or rather by environing and defending their judgement with ſome diſcourſe of true reaſon, as with a defenſative band about it, to keep and guard them, that they be not carried away with the allurements of pleaſure unto that which might hurt them: Shall we reforme and preſerve them?

For ſure, Lycurgus, *though he was*
The valiant ſon of ſtout Dryas,

ſhewed himſelfe not wiſe nor well in his wits, when he went throughout his whole Realme, and cauſed all the vines to be cut down and deſtroyed, becauſe he ſaw many of his ſubjects troubled in their braines, and drunken with wine: whereas he ſhould rather have brought the nymphs (which are the ſpring waters) nearer, and keep in order that fooliſh, furious, and ouragious god *Bacchus*, as *Plato* ſaith, with another goddeſſe that was wiſe and ſober. For the mingling of water with wine delayeth and taketh away the hurtfull force thereof: but killeth not withall the wholſome vertue that it hath: Even ſo we ought not to cut off, nor aboliſh Poetry, which is a part and member of the Muſes and good literature: But when as the ſtrange fables and Theatricall fictions therein, by reaſon of the exceeding pleaſure and ſingular delight that they yeeld in reading them, do ſpread and ſwell unmeaſurably, ready to enter forcibly into our conceit ſo far as to imprint therein ſome corrupt opinions: then let us beware, put forth our hands before us, keep them back and ſtay their courſe. But where there is a Grace and Muſe met together, that is to ſay, delight conjoyned with ſome knowledge and learning: where, I ſay, the attractive pleaſure and ſweetneſſe of ſpeech is not without ſome fruit, nor void of utility, there let us bring in withall the reaſon of Philoſophy, and make a good medly of pleaſure and profit together. For as the herb Mandragoras growing neere unto a Vine doth by infuſion tranſmit her medicinable vertue into the wine that commeth of it, and procureth in them that drinke afterwards thereof, a more mild deſire and inclination to ſleep ſoundly: Even ſo, a Poem receiving reaſons and arguments out of Philoſophy, and intermingling the ſame with fables and fictions, maketh the learning and knowledge therein contained to be right amiable unto young men, and ſoon to be conceived. Which being ſo, they that would be learned and Philoſophers indeed, ought not to reject and condemne the works of Poetry, but rather ſearch for Philoſophy in the writings of Poets: or rather therein to practice Philoſophy, by uſing to ſeeke profit in pleaſure, and to love the ſame: otherwiſe, if they can find no goodneſſe therein, to be diſpleaſed and diſcontented, and to fall out therewith. And truly, this is the very beginning of knowledge and learning: for according to the Poet *Sophocles*,

Lay well thy ground, whatever thou intend:
For a good beginning makes an happy end.

Firſt and formoſt therefore, the young man whom we would induct and traine to the reading of Poeſie, ought to have nothing in his heart ſo well imprinted, nor ſo ready at hand, as this common ſaying,

Poets all to ſay a ſooth
Are Liars ſtout, and ſpeake untruth.

And verily as Poets ſometimes lye willully, ſo otherwhiles they do it againſt their wils: willfully and of purpoſe, for that being deſirous to tickle and pleaſe the eares, a thing which moſt Readers deſire and ſeek after, they thinke that ſmple and plaine verity is more auſtere for that purpoſe then leaſing: For truth recounting a thing as it was done, keepeth to it ſtill, and albeit the iſſue and the end thereof happily be unplea ant, yet nevertheleſſe ſhe goeth not aſide but reporteth it outright: whereas a tale or lye deviſed for delight, quickly diverteth out of the way, and ſoon turneth from a thing which grieveth, unto that which is more delightſome. For there is no ſong in rime and metre, no trope or figurative ſpeech, no loſty ſtile, no metaphor ſo fitly borrowed, no harmony, no compoſition of words how ſmoothly ſoever they run, that carrieth the like grace and is either ſo attractive or retentive as a fabulous narration well couched, artificially enterlaced, and aptly delivered. But as in a picture drawn to the life, the colour is more effectu-

all

all to move and affect our ſenſe, then the ſimple purtraying and firſt draught, by reaſon of a certaine reſemblance it hath to the perſonage of man or woman, which deceiveth our judgement: Even ſo in Poems, a lie intermingled with ſome probability and likelihood of a truth doth excite and ſtir more, yea, and pleaſe better by far, than all the art and ſtudy that a man is able to employ either in compoſing excellent verſes, or enditing any poliſhed proſe, without enterlarding fables and fictions Poeticall. Whereupon it came to paſſe, that *Socrates*, who all his life time made great profeſſion to be a defender and maintainer of the truth, being minded upon a time to take in hand Poetry, by occaſion of certaine dreames and viſions appearing unto him in his ſleep: in the enterpriſe whereof finding himſelfe to have no aptneſſe nor grace at all in deviſing lies, did into verſe certaine fables of *Æſope*, ſuppoſing verily there could be no Poeſie where there were no lies. Many ſacrifices we know to have been celebrated without piping and dancing. But never was there known any Poetry but it was grounded upon ſome vaine fables and loud leaſing. The verſes of *Empedocles* and *Parmenides*, the book of *Nicander*, entituled *Theriaca*, where he treateth of the biting and ſtinging of venemous ſerpents, and of their remedies, The morall ſentences of *Theognis* are writings which borrow of Poetry their loftineſſe of ſtile and meaſure of ſy lables, to beare them up mounted on high to avoid the baſe foot-pace (as it were) of proſe. When as we read therefore in Poeticall compoſitions, any ſtrange & abſurd thing as touching the gods, demy-gods, or vertue, ſpoken by ſome worthy perſonage of great renowne, he that beleeveth ſuch a ſpeech, and receiveth it as an undoubted truth, wandereth in errour, and is corrupted in opinion: but he that ever and anon remembreth and ſetteth before his eyes the charmes and illuſions that Poetry ordinarily uſeth in the invention of lying fables, and can eftſoones bleſſe himſelfe, and ſay thus thereto,

O quaint device, O ſlie and crafty gin,
More changeable than ſpotted Ounces ſkin:
Why jeſteſt thou and yet thy brows doſt knit?
Deceiving me, yet ſeem'ſt to teach me wit.

He, I ſay, ſhall never take harme, nor admit into his underſtanding any evill impreſſion, but reprehend and reprove himſelfe when he feareth *Neptune*, and ſtandeth in dread, leſt he ſhake, cleave, and open the earth, and ſo diſcover hell: he will rebuke alſo himſelfe when he is offended and angry with *Apollo*, for the principall * man of all the Greekes, of whom *Thetis* complaineth thus in the Poet *Æſchylus*, as touching *Achilles* her ſon. * *Achilles*

Himſelfe did ſing and ſay all good of me:
Himſelfe alſo at wedding preſent was:
Yet for all this, himſelfe and none but he,
Hath ſlaine and done to death my ſon, alas.

He will likewiſe repreſſe the teares of *Achilles* now departed, and of *Agamemnon* being in hell, who in their deſire to revive, and for the love of this life, ſtretch forth their impotent and feeble hands. And if it chance at any time that he be troubled with paſſions, and ſurpriſed with their enchantments and ſorcery, he will not ſtick nor feare to ſay thus unto himſelfe,

Make haſte and ſpeed, without delay,
Recover ſoone the light of day;
Beare well in mind what thou ſeeſt here,
And all report to thy bed-feere.

Homer ſpake this in mirth and pleaſantly, fitting indeed the diſcourſe, wherein he deſcribeth hell as being in regard of the fiction a tale fit for the eares of women and none elſe: Theſe be the fables that Poets do feigne voluntarily. But more in number there are which they neither deviſe nor counterfeit, but as they are perſwaded and do beleeve themſelves, ſo they would beare us in hand, and infect us with the ſame untruths, as namely, when *Homer* writeth thus of *Jupiter*,

Two lots then of long ſleeping death, he did in ballance put,
One for Achilles *hardy knight, and one for* Hector *ſtout:*
But when he pois'd it juſt in mids, behold, ſir Hectors *death*
Weigh'd downward unto hell beneath: Then Phœbus *ſtopt his breath.*

To this fiction *Æſchylus* the Poet hath aptly fitted one entire Tragedy, which he intituled *Pſychoſtaſia*, that is to ſay the weighing of Soule, or Ghoſts in ballance. Wherein he deviſeth to ſtand at theſe ſcales of *Jupiter*, *Thetis* of the one ſide, and *Aurora* of the other, praying each of them for their ſons as they fight. But there is not a man who ſeeth not clearly, that this is but a made tale and meere fable deviſed by *Homer*, either to content and delight the Reader, or to bring him into ſome great admiration and aſtoniſhment. Likewiſe in this place:

'Tis Jupiter *that moveth war:*
He is the cauſe that men do jar.

As alſo this of another Poet:

When God above ſome houſe will overthrow,
He makes debate 'twixt mortall men below.

Theſe and ſuch like ſpeeches are delivered by Poets, according to the very conceit and beliefe which they have, whereby the errour and ignorance which themſelves are in as touching the nature of the gods they derive and communicate unto us. Semblably, the ſtrange wonders and

marvels of Hell; The deſcriptions by them made which they depaint unto us by fearefull and terrible termes, repreſenting unto us the fantaſticall apprehenſions and imaginations of burning and flaming rivers, of hideous places and horrible torments: there are not many men but wot well enough that therein be tales and lies good ſtore: no otherwiſe than in meats and viands, you ſhall find mixed otherwhiles hurtfull poyſon, or medicinable drugs. For neither *Homer* nor *Pindarus*, nor *Sophocles*, have written thus of Hell, beleeving certainly that there were any ſuch things there:

From whence the dormant rivers dead
of black and ſhady night,
Caſt up huge miſts and clouds full darke,
that over-whelme the light:
Likewiſe,
The Ocean coaſt they ſailed ſtill along,
Faſt by the clifts of Leucas rock among.
As alſo,
Here boyling waves of gulfe ſo deep do ſwell,
Where lies the way and downfall into hell.

And as many of them as bewailed and lamented for death as a moſt pitious and wofull thing, or feared want of ſepulture as a miſerable and wretched caſe, uttered their plaints and griefes in theſe and ſuch like words:

Forſake me not unburied ſo,
Nor unbewailed when you go.
Semblably.
And then the ſoule from body flew,
and as to hell ſhe went,
She did her death, her loſſe of ſtrength
and youthfull yeares lament.
Likewiſe,
Do not me kill before my time,
for why? to ſee this light
Is ſweet: force me not under earth,
where nothing is but night.

Theſe are the voices, I ſay, of paſſionate perſons, captivate before to errour and falſe opinions. And therefore they touch us more nearely, and trouble us ſo much the rather, when they find us likewiſe poſſeſſed of ſuch paſſions and feebleneſſe of ſpirit, from whence they proceed. In which regard we ought to be prepared betimes, and provided alwaies before hand to encounter and withſtand ſuch illuſions, having this ſentence readily evermore reſounding in our eares, as it were, from a trunke or pipe, That Poetry is fabulous, and maketh ſmall reckoning of truth. As for the truth indeed of theſe things, it is exceeding hard to be conceived and comprehended even by thoſe who travell in no other buſineſſe, but to ſearch out the knowledge and underſtanding of the thing, as they themſelves do confeſſe. And for this purpoſe theſe verſes of *Empedocles* would be alwaies ready at hand, who ſaith that the depth of ſuch things as theſe

No eye of man is able to perceive:
No eare to heare, nor ſpirit to conceive.

Like as theſe alſo of *Xenophanes*.

Never was man, nor ever will be,
Able to ſound the verity
Of thoſe things which of God I write,
Or of the world I do endite.

And I aſſure you, The very words of *Socrates* in *Plato* imply no leſſe, who proteſteth and bindeth it with an oath, that he cannot attaine to the knowledge of theſe matters. And this will be a good motive to induce young men to give leſſe credit unto Poets, as touching their certaine knowledge in theſe points, wherein they perceive the Philoſophers themſelves ſo doubtfull and perplexed, yea, and therewith ſo much troubled.

Alſo the better ſhall we ſtay the mind of a young man and cauſe him to be more wary, if at his firſt entrance into the reading of Poets, we deſcribe Poetry unto him: giving him to underſtand that it is an art of Imitation, and a ſcience correſpondent every way to the feat of painting: and not only muſt he be acquainted with the hearing of that vulgar ſpeech ſo common in every mans mouth, that Poeſie is a ſpeaking picture, and picture a dumbe Poeſie: but alſo we ought to teach him, that when we behold a Lizard or an Ape well painted, or the face of *Therſites* lively drawn, we take pleaſure therein, and praiſe the ſame wonderfully; not for any beauty in the one or in the other, but becauſe they are ſo naturally counterfeited. For that which is foule of it ſelfe and ill-favoured in its own nature, cannot be made faire and ſeemly: but the skill of reſembling a thing well be the ſame faire, or be it foule, is alwaies commended: whereas contrariwiſe, he that takes in hand to purtray an ill-favoured body, and makes thereof a faire and beautifull image, ſhall exhibite a ſight neither ſeemly nor decent. Some painters you ſhall have to delight in painting

ting of ſtrange, fooliſh, and abſurd actions: as for example, *Timomachus* repreſented in a table the picture of *Medea*, killing her own children: *Theon* painted *Oreſtes* murthering his own mother: *Parrhaſius* deſcribed with his penſill the counterfeit rage and madneſſe of *Ulyſſes*, and *Charephanes* purtrayed the wanton dalliance and dealing of men and women together unſeemely. With which arguments, and ſuch like, a young man is to be made acquainted, that he may learn thereby how the thing it ſelfe is not praiſe-worthy, whereof he ſeeth the expreſſe reſemblance, but the art and cunning of the workman who could ſo artificially draw the ſame to the life. Semblably, foraſmuch as Poeſie repreſenteth many times, by way of imitation, filthy actions, lewd affections, and vicious manners: it is the part of a young man to know thus much, That the thing which is admired therein and found to be ſingular, he ought not either to receive as true, or prove as good, but to praiſe it ſo far forth only as it is befitting the perſon, or appropriate to the ſubject matter. For like as when we heare the grunting of a ſwine, the creaking of a cart wheele, or pulley, the whiſtling noiſe of the wind, or the roaring of the ſea, we take no pleaſure therein, but are troubled and diſcontented: but contrariwiſe, if a merry fellow or jeaſter can pretily counterfeit the ſame, as one *Parmeno* could grunt like a ſwine, and *Theodorus* creake like the ſaid wheeles, we are delighted therewith. Alſo, as we ſhun a diſeaſed perſon, and a Lazar full of filthy ulcers, as an unpleaſant and hideous ſpectacle to behold: but when we look upon *Philactetes* purtrayed by *Ariſtophon*; and Queen *Jocaſta* by *Silanian*: namely, how they be deſcribed to pine away, and ready to yeeld up the Ghoſt, we receive no ſmall contentment thereby: even ſo a young man when he ſhall read what the ridiculous jeſter *Therſites*, or the amorous and wanton ſpoyler of maiden, *Siſyphus*, or the beaſtly baud *Petrochus*, is brought in by Poets to ſay or do; let him be advertiſed and inſtructed to praiſe the art and ſufficiency of the Poet, who knew how to paint the ſame ſo lively and naturally: but withall to blame, reject, and deteſt the acts and conditions which are thus repreſented. For there is a great difference between reſembling a thing well, and a thing that is ſimply good: for when I ſay well, I meane aptly, decently, and properly: and ſo acts filthy and diſhoneſt, are fit and beſeeming for lewd and unhoneſt perſons. For the ſhooes of that lame creeple *Demonides*, which he prayed to God might ſerve his feet that had ſtollen them from him, were in themſelves miſſhapen and ill-favoured; howbeit, proper and fit for him: As for this ſpeech,

If laws of right and equity
In any caſe may broken be,
What man alive [illegible]
To do all wrong, a Crown to win?

And this:

Put on thy face, I thee adviſe,
Of him that is juſt and right wiſe:
But ſee no deeds thou do forelet,
Whereby thou maiſt ſome profit get.

Alſo:

Unleſſe I may my talent gaine
As cleare as gift, I am in paine.

Likewiſe:

How ſhall I live or take repoſe,
In caſe this talent I do loſe?
Nay, ſleep I will and feare no hell,
Nor torments there, but thinke all well,
What wrong I do, what plots I ſet,
My ſilver talent for to get.

Wicked words they be all, and moſt falſe; howbeit, beſeeming ſuch as *Eteocles* and *Ixion* were, and becomming well an old Uſurer. If therefore we would advertiſe young men, that Poets write thus, not as if they praiſed and allowed ſuch ſpeeches, but as they knowe full well that they be lewd and naughty, ſo they do attribute them unto as wicked and godleſſe perſons, they ſhould never take harme by any evill impreſſions from Poets: but contrariwiſe, the prejudicate opinion inſinuated firſt, of ſuch and ſuch a man, will preſently breed a ſuſpition both of word and deed to be bad, as ſpoken and done by a bad and vicious perſon. Such an example is that of *Paris* in *Homer*, who flying out of the battell, went preſently to bed to faire *Helena*. For ſeeing that the Poet reporteth of no man elſe, but only of this unchaſte adulterous *Paris*, that he lay with his wife in the day-time: it is an evident proofe that he reputed and judged ſuch incontinency to be reproachfull, and therefore made report thereof to his blame and ſhame both. In theſe caſes alſo it would be well conſidered, whether the Poet himſelfe do not give ſome plaine demonſtrations implying thus much, that he miſliketh ſuch ſpeeches, and is offended therewith, as *Menander* did in the Prologue of that Comedy, which he intituled *Thais*.

O lady Muſe now help me to endite
Of this ſo bold and unſhamefaced queane,
Yet beautifull: who alſo hath a ſprite
Perſwaſive, and with words can carry cleane

The wrongs that ſhe unto her lovers all
Doth offer; whom ſhe ſhutteth out of dores,
And yet for gifts ſhe ſtill of them doth call,
And picks their purſe, which is the caſt of whores;
She none doth love, and yet ſhe ſemblance makes
That aye ſhe will, poore heart, for all their ſakes.

And verily in this kind *Homer*, among all other Poets, doth excell, and uſeth ſuch advertiſements with beſt diſcretion: for it is ordinary with him both to premiſe ſome reprehenſion and blame of evill ſpeeches, and alſo to recommend the good. And for an inſtance hereof, in this wiſe he giveth commendation of a good ſpeech,

And then anon, this ſpeech right commendable
He ſpake, which was both ſweet and profitable.

Againe,

Approaching then, he ſtood unto him neare,
And ſtaied him ſoone with words that gentle were.

Semblably on the other ſide, reproving bad and lewd ſpeeches, he in a manner doth proteſt that he himſelfe miſliketh of them, and therewith denounceth likewiſe, and doth intimate unto the readers thus much in effect, That they ſhould make no uſe thereof, nor take regard, otherwiſe than of wicked things and dangerous examples: as namely, when he purpoſed to deſcribe the rude and groſſe termes that *Agamemnon* gave unto the Prieſt of *Apollo*, when he abuſed him unreverently, he premiſed this before;

This nothing pleaſed Atreus *ſon, K.* Agamemnon *hight;*
But him he badly did intreat, and uſe with all deſpight.

By this word Badly, he meaneth rudely, proudly, diſdainfully, without regard of duty or decency. As for *Achilles*, he attributeth unto him theſe raſh and outragious ſpeeches,

Thou drunken ſot and dogs-face that thou art,
Thou courage haſt, no more then fearefull Hart.

But he inferred withall his own judgement as touching thoſe words in this manner,

Achilles *then ſir* Peleus *ſon, ſtill boyling in his bloud,*
Gave Agamemnon *words again unſeemly and not good.*

For it is not like that any thing could be well and decently ſpoken proceeding from ſuch anger and bitter choler. He obſerveth the ſame not in words only, but alſo in deeds. For thus he ſaith,

No ſooner had he ſpoke the word, but preſently he meant
To worthy Hector *much diſgrace, whoſe body up he hent,*
He ſtript and ſpoiled it full ſoon, and then hard by the bed
Of ſir Patroclus *he it laid, and groveling there it ſpred.*

He uſeth alſo fitly to the purpoſe pretty reprehenſions after things be done, delivering his own ſentence, as it were, by way of a voice given, touching that which was either done or ſaid a little before: As for example, after the narration of the adultery between *Mars* and *Venus*, he reporteth that the gods ſpake in this ſort:

Lewd Acts do never better ſpeed; Lo how the ſlow and lame
Can overtake him who for ſtrength and ſwiftneſſe hath the name!

And in another place, upon the audacious preſumption and proud vaunting of *Hector*, thus he ſaith,

Theſe words he ſpake in bravery and ſwelling pride of heart,
But Lady Juno *was diſpleas'd, and tooke them in ill part.*

Likewiſe as touching the arrow that *Pandarus* ſhot,

No ſooner Pallas *ſaid the word, but fooliſh minded man,*
He was perſwaded, and therewith ſtreight waies to ſhoot began.

And theſe be the ſententious ſpeeches, and opinions of Poets, by them expreſly uttered, which any man may ſoon find and eaſily diſcerne, if he will but take heed and give regard unto them. But yet over and beſides theſe teſtimonies, they furniſh us alſo with other inſtructions by their own deeds. For thus it is reported of *Euripides*, that when upon a time ſome reviled *Ixion*, and reproached him by the termes of Godleſſe, Wicked, and Accurſed: he anſwered, True indeed, quoth he, and therefore I would not ſuffer him to be brought from the Stage, before I had ſet him faſt upon the wheele, and broken both his armes and legs. True it is, that this kind of Doctrine in *Homer* is after a ſort mute and not delivered in plaine and expreſſe termes: but if a man will conſider more nearly, even thoſe fables and fictions in him, which are moſt blamed and found fault withall, there may be found therein a profitable inſtruction, and covert ſpeculation: And yet ſome there be who wreſt and writh forcibly the ſaid fables another way by their Allegories, (for ſo they call in theſe daies thoſe ſpeeches wherein one thing is ſpoken and another meant, whereas in times paſt they were termed *Hypponaa*, for the hidden meaning couched under them) wherby they would make us believe that the fiction as touching the adultery of *Mars* & *Venus* ſignifieth thus much that when the Planet of *Mars* is in conjunction with that of *Venus* in ſome Horoſcopes and Nativities, ſuch perſons then borne ſhall be enclined to adulteries: but if the Sun do then ariſe, paſſe, and overtake them, then ſuch adulteries are in danger to be diſcovered

and

diſcovered and the parties to be taken in the very act. Now as touching *Juno*, how ſhe embelliſheth and adorneth her ſelfe before *Jupiter*, as alſo the fiction and ſorcery about the needle-worke girdle and Tiſſue which ſhe borrowed of *Venus*, they would have it to ſignifie a certaine purging and clearing of the aire, as it approacheth neare to the fire: as if the Poet himſelfe gave not the interpretation and expoſition of ſuch doubts: For in the tale of the adultery of *Venus*, he meaneth nothing elſe, but to teach them that gave eare thereto, how wanton muſicke, laſcivious ſongs, and ſpeeches grounded upon evill arguments, and containing naughty matters, corrupt our manners, induce us to a luxurious, looſe, and effeminate life, and cauſe men to be ſubject unto pleaſures, delights, ſenſuality, and luſt, and given over to the love of women: as alſo,

To change eſtſoons their beds of cõſtly price,
Their rich array, hot baines, and each device.

And therefore the ſame *Homer* bringeth in *Ulyſſes*, commanding the Muſician, who ſung to the Harpe, in this wiſe,

Digreſſe, good ſir, from ſuch lewd ſongs, and ballads vaine as theſe,
Sing rather of the Trojan horſe: you ſhall us therein pleaſe.

Giving us thereby a good inſtruction, that Minſtrels, Muſicians, and Poets ſhould receive the matter and argument of their compoſitions from wiſe men, ſober, ſage, and vertuous. And as touching that fable of *Juno*, he ſhewed how the love, favour, and acquaintance which women win of men by charmes, ſorceries, and enchantments with fraud and deceit, is a thing not only tranſitory and of ſmall continuance, unſure, and whereof a man hath ſoon enough, and is quickly weary, but alſo that which many times turneth to hatred, anger, and enmity, ſo ſoon as the preſent pleaſure is once paſt: For thus threatneth *Jupiter*, and ſaith,

Thou ſhalt then know that wanton love and dalliance in bed,
Whereby thou erſt haſt me deceived, ſhall ſerve thee in ſmall ſted.

For the ſhew and repreſentation of wicked deeds, if there be propounded withall the ſhame and loſſe which befalleth unto them that have committed the ſame, doth no hurt at all, but rather much good unto the hearers. As for Philoſophers verily, they uſe examples taken out of hiſtories, to admoniſh and inſtruct the readers, even by ſuch things as be at hand, and either are or have been really ſo: but Poets do indeed the ſame, and in effect, howbeit they deviſe and invent matter of their own heads, they feigne fables, I ſay, fitting their purpoſe. Certes, like as *Melanthius* ſaid, between bord and good earneſt, that the City of *Athens* ſtood upright on foot, and was preſerved by meanes of the diviſion, diſcord, and trouble which was among Oratours and Politicians; for that all the Citizens leaned not altogether to a ſide, nor bare levelly upon one and the ſame wall, and ſo by reaſon of the variance which reigned among the States men, there was evermore ſome one counterpoiſe or other, weighing even againſt that which endamaged the common-weale: even ſo the contradictions that are found in the writings of Poets, which draw the aſſent and beliefe of the readers reciprocally to and fro, and leave matters ambiguous and doubtfull, are a cauſe that they be not of ſo great moment and weight, as to endamage or endanger much. When as therefore we meet with ſuch repugnant places among them, which being laid neare together do imply evident contrarieties, we ought to encline to the ſafer ſide and favour the better part. As namely in theſe verſes,

The Gods in many things, my ſon,
Have men deceived and them undone.

But contrariwiſe, what ſaith the ſon againe?

Sir, that's ſoon ſaid: mens fault t'excuſe,
Nothing more ready, than Gods t' accuſe.

Likewiſe in one place:

In ſtore of gold thou ſhouldſt have joy:
And count all knowledge but a toy.

But elſewhere:

Abſurd it is in goods to flow,
And no good thing beſides to know.

Moreover when we read:

How then? ſhould I for Gods cauſe die?

We muſt be ready with this,

What elſe? for love of God I judge
We ought no ſervice for to grudge.

Theſe and ſuch like diverſities of doubtfull ſentences, are ſoon aſſoyled and diſſolved, in caſe, as I have before ſaid, we direct the judgement of young men to adhere unto the better part. But ſay, we light upon ſome wicked and ungodly ſpeech, without any anſwer adjoyned thereto for to refell the ſame preſently: what then is to be done? Surely we muſt confute it by oppoſing contrary ſentences of the ſame author in other places: neither are we to be angry or offended with the Poet in this caſe; but rather thinke they be words either merrily ſpoken, or only to repreſent the nature of ſome perſon, and with him only to be diſpleaſed. Moreover, againſt theſe fictions in *Homer*, when he reporteth how the gods fall together by the eares, and throw one another down: or that they be wounded in ſome battell by the hands of mortall men: alſo that they be

at

at variance and debate: you may if you will by and by oppoſe that which he himſelfe ſpeaketh in another place, and ſo beat him with his own rod: ſaying thus unto him,

You know ſir, if you liſt, iwis
To tell us better tales than this.

And verily you both utter better words, and thinke of better matters otherwiſe in theſe places:

The Gods in heaven do live at eaſe:
They know no trouble nor diſeaſe.

Alſo:

Whereas the Gods in bliſſe and joy
Do ever live without annoy.

Likewiſe:

The Gods themſelves are void of care:
Sadneſſe and ſorrow mens lots they are.

For theſe are the true and ſafe conceptions which we ought to have as touching the Gods: And for all other fabulous fictions and attributes given unto them, they have been deviſed only to give contentment to the readers, or to move their affections. In like caſe whereas *Euripides* ſaith:

Gods over men, having power and maſtery,
Abuſe and deceive them with wiles and ſophiſtry.

It were not amiſſe to alledge and infer that which he writeth better and more truly in another place:

If Gods do harme, or what doth not beſeeme,
No Gods in truth we are them for to deeme.

Alſo when *Pindarus* ſpeaketh very bitterly and eagerly in one place, tending altogether to revenge:

All meanes and plots we may addreſſe,
To worke and compaſſe our foes diſtreſſe.

We may come upon him againe and anſwer thus: But you good Sir elſewhere affirme, That

The joy we gaine by fraud and treachery,
Turnes in the end to woe and miſery.

Moreover, when we heare *Sophocles* in this ſong:

Lucre alwaies full pleaſant is and ſweet,
Although it come by falſe meanes and unmeet,

Reply we ought and ſay thus: We have heard you ſing in another tune:

Deceitfull lies and falſe language,
Bring forth no fruit that will beare age.

Furthermore, to encounter theſe ſpeeches which are delivered as touching riches:

Pow'rfull is riches to win forts ſteepe and high,
As well as places moſt plaine and acceſſible,
Whereas thoſe pleaſures which ready be and nigh
To hold and enjoy, far more is impoſſible.
And why? a tongue that ſmooth and filed is,
Will cauſe a man foule and unperſonable,
Of no regard, whoſe parts be all amiſſe
Faire for to ſeeme, full wiſe and commendable.

The Reader may alledge many oppoſite ſentences of *Sophocles*, and theſe among the reſt:

I ſee no cauſe, but men in poverty,
May be advanc'd to place of dignity.

Alſo:

A man is not the worſe for his poverty,
In caſe he hath both wiſdome and honeſty.

Likewiſe:

What joy, what grace can come of worldly pelfe,
If firſt by ſhifts a man to it attaine:
And then with reſtleſſe cares torment himſelfe,
And take bad courſes the ſame to maintaine?

And *Menander* verily in one place hath highly praiſed and extolled ſenſuall luſt and concupiſcence, whereby he ſet them forward who are of an hot nature, and of themſelves prone to voluptuouſneſſe, namely, in theſe and ſuch like amatorious words:

What creatures ſoever do live and ſee
The ſun light joy, that common treaſure,
Are all, have been, and ever ſhall be
Subject and thrall to fleſhly pleaſure.

Howbeit, in another the ſame Poet hath turned us about and forcibly drawn us unto honeſty, repreſſing and bridling the inſolent fury of a looſe and luxurious life, ſaying in this wiſe:

A filthy life, thou pleaſant for the while,
With ſhame at laſt, doth all delights defile.

Theſe ſayings are in ſome ſort contrary to the former, but far better and more profitable every way. And therefore the ſetting together and conſideration of ſuch contradictory ſentences will bring forth one of theſe two effects: for either it will draw young men to the better way, or at leaſtwiſe derogate the credit of the worſe.

But if peradventure it come to paſſe that the Poets themſelves do not ſolve and ſalve thoſe ſtrange and abſurd ſayings, which they ſeem to ſet abroad: it were not amiſſe to oppoſe againſt them the contrary ſentences of other famous authors: and when we have weighed and compared them in ballance, to make proofe thereby which are the better. As for example, if happily *Alexis* the Poet hath prevailed with ſome by theſe verſes of his:

If men be wiſe, above all they will chuſe
By all means their pleaſures to compaſſe and uſe.
Whereof there be three moſt pow'rfull and rife,
Which wholly poſſeſſe and accompliſh our life,
To eate, to drinke, to follow venery:
As for the reſt, I hold acceſſary.

We muſt call to mind and remember, that the ſage *Socrates* was of another opinion and ſpake the contrary: for he was wont to ſay, that the wicked lived for to eate and drinke; but the vertuous did both eate and drinke to live. Semblably, to meet with this verſe of the Poet who ever it was that wrote thus:

To make thy part good with a perſon lewd,
Fight with like lewdneſſe, and be thou as ſhrewd.

Bidding us in ſome ſort to accommodate and frame our ſelves like to the lewd and wicked: we may be ready with that notable Apophthegme of *Diogenes*, who being asked how a man might be revenged beſt of his enemy, anſwered thus, If (quoth he) thou ſhew thy ſelfe a good and honeſt man. The wiſdome alſo of the ſaid *Diogenes* we muſt ſet againſt the Poet *Sophocles*, who troubled the minds and conſciences of many thouſands with diſtruſt and deſpaire, by writing theſe verſes as touching the religion and confraternity in the Myſteries of *Ceres*:

How happy men, and thrice happy are they
Whoſe fortune it is, the ſecrets to ſee
Of Myſteries ſacred: and ſtraight-way
Down into hell, for to deſcend with glee:
For they alone in bliſſe ſhall live for ay:
The reſt in bale, muſt ſuffer paine alway.

How now, quoth *Diogenes*, when he heard ſuch verſes read: Saieſt thou ſo indeed? And ſhall *Patacian* the notorious thiefe be in better ſtate after this life when he is once departed, only becauſe he was entred and profeſſed in the orders of this confraternity, than good *Epiminondas*? As for *Timotheus*, when upon a time in the audience of a full Theatre, he chanted a Poem which he had compiled in the honour of *Diana*, wherein he ſtiled her with the Attributes and Epithets of *Menas*. *Thyas*, *Phœbas*, and *Lyſſas*, which ſignifie Furious, Enraged, Poſſeſſed, and ſtarke Mad: *Cinneſias* preſently cried aloud unto him, I would thou hadſt a daughter of thine own with ſuch qualities. The like elegant anſwer *Bion* is reported to have made unto *Theognis*. For when *Theognis* came out with theſe verſes,

A man held down with poverty
Can nothing do or ſay:
For why? his tongue wants liberty,
And ſomewhat dot hit ſtay.

Bion hearing them, How commeth it then to paſſe, quoth he, that thou thy ſelfe being but a beggar keepeſt ſuch a prating as thou doſt, and with thy vaine babling and garrulity troubleſt our eares?

Moreover, we muſt not in any wiſe omit and let paſſe the occaſions which are miniſtred out of the words and ſentences either adjoyning or intermingled with thoſe ſpeeches, for to reforme and correct the ſame: But like as Phyſitians are of opinion, that notwithſtanding the greene Flies *Cantharides* be of themſelves venemous and a deadly poyſon; yet their wings and feet are helpfull and wholſome: yea, and of vertue to fruſtrate and kill the malice of the ſaid flies: even ſo in the Poems and writings of Poets, if there be one Noune or Verbe hanging to a ſentence that we feare will do harme, which Noune or Verbe may in ſome ſort weaken the ſaid hurtfull force, we are to take hold thereof, and to ſtand upon the ſignification of ſuch words more at large, as ſome do in theſe verſes,

This honour due to wretched men we keep,
Our haire to cut, and over them to weep.

As alſo in theſe,

We men, alas moſt miſerable, live
In paine and griefe, this lot the gods do give.

For the Poet doth not ſimply affirme that the gods have predeſtinate all men ſimply to live in woe

woe and sorrow, but this he speaketh of foolish and witlesse folke, who being ordinarily lewd and naught, and therefore miserable and wretched for their wickednesse, he is wont to call δειλοὺς and ὀϊζυρους.

Another way there is besides, to turn the doubtfull and suspected sentences in poeticall writings to the better sense, which otherwise might be construed in the worse part: namely, by interpreting words to the signification wherein they are usually taken: wherein it were better to exercise a young man, than in the interpretations of obscure termes, which we call Glosses. And verily a point this is savouring of great learning, and full besides of delectation: as for example, To know how the word ῥιγεδανὴ in Poets signifieth, is as much to say, as ill death, or a bad end; for that the Macedonians use to call death δανὸς. Likewise the *Æolians* do terme victory which is atchieved by long suffering, continuall perseverance and abiding, καμμονιὴ. Also, among the *Dryopians*, those be named Ποποὶ, who with other are called *Dæmones*. i.e. Saints or Heavenly wights. Furthermore, it is not only expedient, but necessary also, if we would receive good, and not harme, by the reading of Poets; to know certainly, how and in what signification they take the proper names of gods, as also the appellative words of good and evill things. Likewise what they meane by the vocables ψυχὴ. i.e. the soule; or μοῖρα. i.e. fatall destinie. Namely, whether these termes be taken by them in one sense, or have many significations? The same is to be said of many other words besides: for example sake, this Noune οἶκος sometimes signifieth an ædifice or dwelling house, as when *Homer* saith,

οἶκον ἐς ὑψύροφον. *To the house built with an high roofe.*

Otherwhiles it betokeneth goods and substance: as in this peece of a verse.

ἐσθίεταί μοι οἶκος. *My house is eaten.* i.e. *My goods are wasted and consumed.*

Also this word βίοτος is taken in one place for life; as namely in these verses;

ἀμενήνωσεν δὲ οἱ αἰχμὴν
κυανοχαῖτα ποσειδάων βιότοιο μεγήρας.
God Neptune *with his haire so blacke,*
envying him long life,
Despightfully his daies cut short,
and ended all the strife.

But in another for goods and riches: to wit,

βίοτον δὲ οἱ ἄλλοι ἔδουσι. *Mean while do others spend my goods.*

Semblably the Verbe ἀλύειν, you shall find put for to fret, be discontented and ill apayed: as the Poet writeth thus;

Ὡς ἔφαθ' ἡδ' ἀλύουσ' ἀπεβήσατο, τείρετο
δ' αἰνῶς.
Which said she seemed male-content,
And wounded so, away she went.

And yet it is used sometime, for to joy and vaunt: as namely in the same Poet;

ἢ ἀλύεις ὅτι Ἶρον ἐνίκησας τὸν ἀλείτην.
And do you brag and boast so much indeed,
Poore Irus *that you beate in beggers weed.*

In like sort the verbe θοάζειν, signifieth either to move or stir with great violence: as in *Euripides*. Κῆτος θοάζον ἐξ ἀτλαντικῆς ἁλός.

A whale out o'th' Atlanticke sea, we might descry from land
Most forcibly to swim, and then to shut himselfe on land.

Or to sit down and take repose: as for example, when *Sophocles* saith thus,

τίνας πόθ' εἵδρας τάς δὲ μοι θοάζετε,
ἱκτηρίοις κλάδοισιν ἐξεστεμμένοις.
My friends, what meane you in this wise so strangely for to sit,
With branches dight about your heads, which suppliants do befit?

Moreover, it is very pretty and commendable, when a man meeteth with words of divers acceptions, to make use thereof accordingly, and to accommodate them to the present occasions and subject matters: like as the Grammarians teach us to do in vocables that admit sundry senses; as for example,

νῆ ὀλίγην αἰνεῖν, μεγάλη δ' ἐνιφορτία θέσθαι.
You may well praise a little barke or barge,
But see with wares a mighty hulke you charge.

Here the Verbe αἰνεῖν signifieth ἐπαινεῖν. *i.e.* to praise: and yet now in this place (to praise) is as much to say, as to refuse and reject: Like as in our common and daily speech we use to say, καλῶς ἔχει. *i.e.* 'Tis well: or when we bid χαίρειν. *i.e.* Farewell it: meaning by these termes that we like not of a thing, or will none of it: nor accept thereof. And hereupon it is that some say, *Proserpina* is called ἐπαινὴ, which is as much to say as a goddesse blamed and to be found fault with. This difference then, & distinction in the significations of words, is principally to be observed in matters that be more serious and of greater consequence, to wit, in the names of gods. To begin therefore with them let us advertise and teach young men, that Poets in using the names of gods, sometimes meane thereby their very nature and essence: otherwhiles they attribute the homonymy

nymy of the same names, to the powers and vertues which the gods do give, and whereof they be the authors. And here there presenteth himselfe unto me the Poet *Archilochus*, when in his prayer he saith thus;

Κλῦθι ἄναξ ἥφαιστε, &c.
O Vulcan *king be gracious unto me,*
And heare my prayers, thus kneeling on my knee
Devoutly: Grant, I say, this my request,
As thou art wont, to whom thou lovest best.

It is very cleare and evident that he doth invocate the god *Vulcan* himselfe, and calleth him by his proper name. But when he bewaileth his sisters husband, who perished and was drowned in the sea, by which accident he want his due sepulture, he saith, that he could have borne this calamity and misfortune the better,

If that his head and lovely limbs
In pure white cloaths iclad,
As doth beseeme a faire dead corps,
Vulcan *consumed had.*

By which word *Vulcan*, he meaneth fire, and not the god himselfe. Againe, when *Euripides* in his oath useth these words,

By Jove *I sweare, and bloudy* Mars *him by,*
Who beare great sway among the stars in sky.

Certaine it is that he speaketh of the very gods *Jupiter* and *Mars*: But when *Sophocles* saith:

Full blind is Mars, *faire Dames (I say) and nothing he doth see,*
But like wild bore he havock makes, and workes all misery.

You must understand that he speaketh of war: Like as in these verses of *Homer*:

Whose bloud along Scamanders streame, so deeply died in red,
That black againe it is therewith, now Trenchant Mars *hath shed.*

It is meant the edge of the sword and other weapons made of brasse and steele: which being so, and considering that there be many other words of double and divers significations, we ought to learne and beare in mind, that the very names of Διὸς and Ζηνὸς, which signifie *Jupiter*, in one place they attribute to the god himselfe, in another to Fortune, and oftentimes to Destiny and Fatall necessity. For when they say,

Ζεῦ πάτερ ἴδηθην μεδέων.
O Jupiter *who from Ida hill*
Dost reigne as King and worke thy will.

Also:

Ὦ Ζεῦ τὶς εἶναι φησὶ σου σοφώτερος.
O Jupiter *who dare avow*
That he can wiser be than thou.

Plaine it is that they meane nothing else but the god *Jupiter* himselfe. But when they give the Denomination, Διὸς, to the causes whereupon all things depend, and do say in this wise:

And many a stout and valiant knight who fought in pitched field,
Before due time there lost their lives and vitall breath did yeeld.
Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή.
i.e. *This was the will of mighty* Jove,
Who wrought all this from heaven above;

Surely we must understand by *Jove* fatall destiny: For we must not imagine that the Poet thinketh God to devise and practice any evill against men: but he giveth us to understand by the way as touching the Fatall necessity of all humane affaires, that Cities, Armies, and Generall Captaines are predestined to fortunate successe and victory over their enemies, if they be wise and governe their affections well. But contrariwise, if they be passionate and fall into errours and misdemeanours, growing to quarrels and debates one against another, as these did, of whom the Poet spake, it cannot be avoided but they shall commit many outrages, breed troubles and confusion, and at the last come to an unhappy end:

For by Fatall necessity,
And Destiny inevitable:
Bad counsels of iniquity
Bring forth fruits therto answerable.

Now whereas the Poet *Hesiodus* bringeth in *Prometheus*, perswading his brother *Epimetheus*

To take no gifts in any wise
Which Jupiter *from heaven hath sent:*
But them alwaies for to despise
And send them back as discontent.

He useth the name of *Jupiter* for the puissance of Fortune: for by the gifts of that god, he meaneth the goods of Fortune, to wit, Riches, Marriages, States, and Dignities, and generally all outward blessings: the possession whereof is unprofitable unto those that know not how to use them well. Esteeming therefore no better of *Epimetheus* than of a lewd and foolish fellow, he

ſuppoſeth that he ought to take heed, and beware of proſperity, whereby he was like to receive hurt and loſs: yea, and to come unto a miſchiefe in the end. Semblably, when the ſame Poet ſaith:

Reproach no man while that you live
With poverty which gods do give.

He underſtandeth hereby the gift of the gods, a thing meer caſuall and comming by Fortune: implying thus much, that thoſe men are not to be blamed and accuſed, who by ſome misfortune are become poore: but rather, that poverty proceeding by occaſion of ſloath, idleneſſe, eaſe, delicate wantonneſſe, waſtefull and fooliſh expences, is ſhame-worthy and reproachable. For Poets and others being not acquainted with the word Fortune, which as yet was not in uſe, and knowing full well, that the power of this variable and inconſtant cauſe, ranging diſorderly as it did without any certaine purpoſe and determinate end, was mighty, and could not poſſibly be avoided by any humane wit, reaſon and policy, they expreſſed the ſame by the names of the gods; much like as we in our dayly ſpeech and ordinary language, are wont commonly to give unto divers actions and affaires, to the conditions, natures, and manners of ſundry perſons, to ſpeeches and orations; yea, and (beleeve me) to men themſelves, the termes of Heavenly and Divine. Well, a very good and expedient meane this is whereby we are to reforme and correct many ſentences and verſes, which ſeeme at the firſt ſight to carry with them any abſurdity and incongruity, as touching *Jupiter*: as namely theſe,

Two tuns within the entry ſtand
Of Jove *his houſe with lots both full:*
One hath ſucceſſe and winning hand,
The other loſſes ſorrowfull.

Alſo:

As judge aloft ſat Jupiter *without regard of oath*
Or covenant: and ſhewed ſignes of miſchiefe to them both.

Likewiſe:

And then began the miſchiefes all of Greeks and Trojans both,
For Jupiter *his pleaſure wrought, and with each ſide was wroth.*

All this we muſt interpret either of Fatall deſtiny or of Fortune, potent cauſes both, which neither are comprehenſible within our underſtanding, nor yet evitable within the compaſſe of our power. But where we read of any thing attributed unto *Jupiter*, which is conformable to reaſon, hath ſemblance of truth, and is beſeeming his perſon, there we are to thinke that the ſaid name ſignifieth the god himſelfe: as for example,

Sir Hector *then advanc'd himſelfe, and all the ranks beſide*
Of Greeks did brave, expecting who his challenge would abide.
Only the ſon of Telamon, Ajax *that worthy knight,*
He did avoid: for Jupiter *unto him had a ſpight.*

Alſo:

Such great affaires of mortall men
Are manag'd aye by Jupiter:
But ſmaller matters now and then
To petty-gods he doth refer.

Furthermore, we ought to have a diligent eye to other words, which may be turned and transferred to many things, and are taken in divers ſenſes by Poets. Of which ſort is the name of Ἀρετὴ. *i.e.* Vertue. For by reaſon that vertue not only cauſeth men to be wiſe, prudent, juſt, and honeſt both in word and deed: but alſo purchaſeth ordinarily unto them honour, glory, authority, and reputation in the world: therefore they give the name of Vertue unto renowne, power, and might: like as the Olive fruit, they call by the name ἐλαία. *i.e.* Olive tree, and the Beech-maſt they terme alſo φηγὸς as well as the Beech tree. Our young man then, as he readeth in a Poet,

The gods before vertue have ſet
Labour, travell, and painfull ſwet.

Or thus,

The Greeks by vertue then down bare
Their ſquadron thick and battell ſquare.

Likewiſe,

If die we muſt, moſt glorious is death;
For vertue when we ſpend our vitall breath,

preſently ought to conceive thus much, That all is ſpoken of the beſt, moſt excellent, and divineſt habitude in us, which we underſtand to be the very rectitude and rule of reaſon and judgement, the height and perfection of our reaſonable humane nature, yea, and the diſpoſition of the ſoule, accordant with it ſelfe. But when he readeth againe theſe other verſes there,

Vertue im men Jove *cauſeth for to grow*
And fade: by him it doth both ebbe and flow.

As alſo,

Where worldly wealth and riches are,
Vertue and fame follow not far.

let him not by and by ſet him down, and by occaſion of theſe words have the rich in wonderfull great admiration, as if they could anon buy vertue for money, and with their wealth have it at command: let him not thinke, I ſay, that it lieth in the power of Fortune, either to augment, or to diminiſh vertue: but rather deeme thus, and make this conſtruction, that the Poet under the name vertue, ſignifieth Worſhip, Authority, Power, Proſperity, or ſome ſuch matter. For ſo the word κακότης is ſometimes taken by them in the native and proper ſignification, for a naughty and wicked diſpoſition of the mind, as when *Heſiodus* writeth thus,

Of wickednesse a man may evermore
Have foyson great and plenteous store.

But otherwhiles it is uſed for ſome other evill calamity or infortunity, as by *Homer*,

Men quickly age and waxen old,
ὑ κακότητι, with hunger and cold, &c.

And much were he deceived, who ſhould perſwade himſelfe that Poets take beatitude and bleſſedneſſe, which in Greeke is called εὐδαιμονία, ſo preciſely as Philoſophers do: who underſtand thereby, an abſolute habitude, and entire poſſeſſion of all good things, or rather an accompliſhed perfection of this life, holding on a proſperous courſe according to nature: for many times Poets abuſe this word, calling a man bleſſed and happy, who is rich in worldly goods; and giving the terme of felicity and happineſſe unto great power, fame, and renowne. As for *Homer*, he uſeth verily theſe termes aright and properly in this verſe,

Although much wealth I do hold and enjoy,
Yet in my heart I take no bleſſed joy.

So doth *Menander*, when he writeth thus,

Of goods I have, and money great ſtore,
And all men call me rich therefore:
But yet how rich ſoever I ſeeme,
Happy and bleſt none doth me deeme.

Euripides maketh great diſorder and confuſion when he writeth in this ſort;

I would not have that bleſſed life
Wherein I find much paine and griefe.

Alſo in another place:

Why doſt thou honour tyranny,
Happy in injuſtice and villany?

Unleſſe a man, as ſaid before, take theſe termes as ſpoken metaphorically, or by the figure κατάχρησις. *i.e.* the abuſion of them, otherwiſe than in their proper ſenſe. And thus much may ſerve as touching this point.

Now for this that remaineth behind, young men would be put in remembrance and admoniſhed not once, but oftentimes, that Poeſie, having for her proper ſubject an argument to be expreſſed by imitation; howſoever ſhe uſeth the ornaments and beautifull furniture of figurative ſpeeches, in ſetting out and deſcribing thoſe matters and actions which are preſented unto her, yet nevertheleſſe ſhe doth not forgo the reſemblance and likelihood of truth. For that imitation indeed delighteth the Reader ſo long only as it carrieth ſome ſhew of probability. And therefore that imitation which ſeemeth not altogether to ſquare and depart from the rule of verity, doth expreſſe the ſignes of vertues and vices both at once, entermingled one with another in actions. Such is the Poem and compoſition written by *Homer*, which reſteth not in the ſtrange opinions and paradoxes of the Stoicks, who hold, That neither any evill at all can ſort with vertue ne yet one jot of goodneſſe with vice: but he hath bidden farewell to ſuch preciſe poſitions; namely, That a fooliſh and lewd perſon, in all his actions, when and whereſoever, doth offend and ſin: and ſemblably, the wiſe and vertuous man, at all times, and in all places, cannot chuſe but do every thing well. Theſe are the principles which the Stoicks ſchooles reſound withall. Howbeit, in the affaires of this world, and in our dayly life and converſation, as *Euripides* ſaith,

It cannot be in every point,
That good and bad ſhould be diſjoynt:
But in all actions we dayly ſee,
One with another medled will be.

But the art of Poetry, ſetting apart the truth indeed, uſeth moſt of all variety and ſundry formes of phraſes. For the divers imitations are they that give to fables that vertue to move affections and paſſions in the readers: theſe are they that worke ſtrange events in them, even contrary to their opinion and expectation: upon which enſueth the greateſt wonder and aſtoniſhment, wherein lieth the chiefe grace, and from whence proceedeth the moſt delight and pleaſure; whereas, contrariwiſe, that which is ſimple and uniforme, is not patheticall, nor hath in it any fiction. Hereupon it is that Poets bring not in the ſame perſons alwaies winners, alwaies happy and doing well: and that which more is, when they feigne that the gods themſelves meddle in mens affaires, they deſcribe them not without their paſſions, nor yet exempt from errours and faults, for feare leſt that part of their Poeſie which ſtirreth up the affection, and holdeth in ſuſpenſe and admiration the minds of men, ſhould become idle and dull, for want of ſome danger

and adversary as it were to excite and quicken it: which being so, let us bring a young man to the reading of Poets workes, not forestalled and possessed before with such an opinion as touching those great and magnificall names of ancient worthies, as if they had been wise and just men, or vertuous Princes in the highest degree of perfection, & as a man would say, the very Canon rule, and patterne of all vertue, uprightnesse, and integrity: Otherwise he should receive great damage thereby, in case, I say, he were of this mind to approve and have in admiration all that they did or said as singular; and to be offended at nothing that he heareth from them: neither would he allow of him, who blameth and findeth fault with them when they either do or say such things as these.

O father Jove, *O* Phœbus *bright*, *O* Pallas *maiden pure*:
That you would all bring this about, and make us twaine secure,
That not one Trojan might escape, nor Greeke remaine alive
But we two Knights: That we (I say) and none but we b'live
May win the honour of this war, and only reap the joy
Of victory, to raze the walls and stately tow'rs of Troy.

Also,

I heard the voice most pittious of Priams *daughter bright,*
Cassandra *faire, a virgin chaste: whom me for to despight,*
My wife dame Clytemnestra *slew by cruell trechery,*
Because of us she jealous was for sin of lechery.

Likewise,

With concubine of Father mine she counsel'd me to lie,
The old mans curse that I might have: perswaded, so did I.

And in another place,

O Jupiter, *whom men do father call,*
Thou art a God most mischievous of all.

Let not a young man in any wise be accustomed to praise such speeches: neither let him seeke any colourable pretences to cloake and excuse wicked and infamous acts: he must not be studious and cunning in such inventions, to shew therein his subtilty and promptnesse of wit. But rather he is to thinke thus, that Poesie is the very imitation of manners, conditions, and lives, yea, and of men, such as are not altogether perfect, pure, and irreprehensible, but in whom passions, false opinions, and ignorance beare some sway, yet so, as many times by the dexterity and goodnesse of nature they be reformed and disposed to better waies. When a young man then is thus prepared, and his understanding so framed, that when things are well done and said, his heart is moved and affected therewith as by some heavenly instinct: and contrariwise, not well pleased with lewd words or deeds, but highly offended thereat, certes, such instruction of his judgement will be a meanes that he shall both heare and read any Poems without hurt and danger. But he that admireth all, and applieth himselfe so, that he embraceth every thing, he, I say, that commeth with a judgement devoted and enthralled to those magnificent and heroick names, like unto those disciples who counterfeited to be crump-shouldred, & bunch-backt like their Master *Plato*, or would needs stut, stammer, and maffle as *Aristotle* did: surely such a one will take no great heed, but soone apprehend and entertaine many evill things. Moreover, this young beginner of ours ought not to be affected after a timorous and superstitious manner, as they are who being in a temple, feare and dread every thing, and are ready to worship and adore whatsoever they see or heare: but boldly and confidently to pronounce and say, as occasion serveth, This is ill done, or not decently spoken: no lesse than to give his acclamation and consent to that which is well and seemely either said or done. As for example, *Achilles* seeing the souldiers how they fell sick daily in the Campe, and not well appaid that the war was thus drawn out in length, especially to the hinderance of his own honour, being a martiall man, of great prowesse and renowne in the field, assembled a Councell of war, and called the Greekes together. But, (as he was a man otherwise well seen in the skill of Physick) perceiving by the ninth day past, (which commonly is critical, and doth determine of maladies one way or other by course of nature) that it was no ordinary disease, nor proceeding from usuall causes, stood up to make a speech, not framing himselfe to please and gratifie the common people, but to give counsell unto the King himselfe in this manner:

I thinke we must when all is done, O Agamemnon *Liege,*
Returne againe without effect to Greece, and leave our Siege.

This was well and wisely said: these were modest and temperate words becomming his person: But when the Prophet or soothsaier said, that he feared much the wrath and indignation of the mightiest man and soveraign Commander of all the Greeks, he answered then never a wise or sober word; for having sworne a great oath, that no man should be so hardy as to lay hand on the said prophet so long as he remained alive he added moreover and said full unseemely,

No, If thou shouldst both meane and name
King Agamemnon, *I vow the same.*

Shewing plainly by these words what little account he made of his Prince, and how he contemned soveraigne authority: nay, he over-passed himselfe more yet, and proceeded farther in heat of choler,

choler, to lay hand upon his ſword, yea, and to draw it forth, with a full purpoſe to kill the King: which was done of him neither well for his own honour, nor wiſely for the good of the State. But repenting himſelfe immediately,

Into the ſcabbard then anon he puts his doughty ſword:
Minerva gave him that advice, and he obey'd her word.

Herein againe he did well and honeſtly: for having not the power to extinguiſh and quench his choler quite, yet he delayed it well and repreſſed it, yea, and brought it under the obeyſance of reaſon, before it brake out into an exceſſive outrage, which hath been remedileſſe. Semblably *Agamemnon* himſelfe, for that which he did and ſaid in the aſſembly of Councell, he was worthy to be ſcorned and laughed at. But in the matter concerning the Damoſell *Chryſeis*, he ſhewed more gravity and princely Majeſty, than in like caſe *Achilles* did: for he, when the faire *Briſeis* was taken from him and led away:

Sat weeping in great agony,
Retir'd apart from company.

But *Agamemnon* himſelfe in perſon conducting her as far as to the ſhip, delivering up and ſending away to her own father, the woman whom a little before he ſaid that he loved more dearely than his own eſpouſed wife, did nothing unfitting himſelfe or like a paſſionate lover. Againe, *Phœnix* being curſed by his father, and betaken to all the helliſh fiends for lying with his concubine, breaketh out into theſe words,

I minded once with ſword of mine my fathers bloud to ſhed:
But that ſome god my rage repreſt, and put this in my head:
How men would cry much ſhame on me, and namely Græcians all
With one voice me a parricide or Father-killer call.

Which verſes in *Homer*, *Ariſtarchus* was afraid to let ſtand, and therefore daſhed them out. But verily, they ſerve in that place fitly for the purpoſe, namely, when *Phœnix* inſtructeth *Achilles*, what a violent paſſion anger is, and how there is no outrage but men will dare and do in the heat of choler, when they will not be guided with reaſon, or directed by the counſell of thoſe that would appeaſe them. For he bringeth in *Meleager* alſo, who was angry with his Citizens, howbeit afterwards pacified: In which example, as he wiſely blameth and reproveth ſuch paſſions: ſo he praiſeth and commendeth as a good and expedient thing, not to be led and carried away therewith, but to reſiſt and conquer them, and to take up betime and repent. True it is, that hitherto in theſe places already cited, there is a manifeſt difference to be obſerved: but where there is ſome obſcurity as touching the true ſenſe and meaning of a ſentence, we muſt teach a young man to ſtay himſelfe there and pauſe upon the point, that he may be able to diſtinguiſh in this manner: If *Nauſicaa* upon the firſt ſight of *Ulyſſes*, a meere ſtranger, falling into the ſame paſſion of love with him, as *Calypſo* did, and ſeeking nothing but wanton pleaſure, as one living daintily, and being now ripe and ready for marriage, utter fooliſhly theſe and ſuch like words, and that before her waiting-maids:

O that it were my hap ſo brave
A Knight to wed who hath my heart!
O that he would with me vouchſafe
For to remaine and not depart!

Her boldneſſe and incontinency is to be reproved: but if by his ſpeech and talke ſhe perceived that he was a man of wit and wiſe behaviour, & thereupon wiſhed in her heart to be his wedded wife and to dwell with him rather than with one of her own country, who could skill of nothing elſe but to dance, or be a marriner, I cannot blame her, but thinke her praiſe-worthy. In like caſe, if when *Penelope* deviſeth and talketh curteouſly with her wooers, who ſued unto her for marriage, and thereupon they court here againe and beſtow upon her gay cloaths, rich jewels, and other goodly ornaments fit for a Lady, *Ulyſſes* her husband rejoyces

That ſhe was well content to take
Their gifts, and did to them love make,
As though ſhe would be kind againe,
And yet her ſhews were all but vaine.

If, I ſay, he joyed, in that his wife received their courteſies and tokens, and ſo made a gaine of them, ſurely he ſurpaſſeth *Poliager* the notorious Bawd, playing his part in the Comedies, of whom there goeth this by-word:

Bawd Poliager *happy man he,*
That keeps at home in houſe a ſhe:
A heavenly goate whoſe influence,
Brings in riches with affluence.

But if he did it to have them by that meanes under his hand, whiles they upon hopes of obtaining their ſute, little thought of him how he watched them a ſhrewd turne: then his joy and confident aſſurance was grounded well and upon good reaſon. Semblably in the counting that he made of thoſe goods which the *Phæacians* had landed when they had ſet him on ſhore; and having ſo done, ſpred ſaile and departed back againe: if being thus left ſolitary alone, and finding himſelfe forlorne, he doubted of his eſtate, and what ſhould become of him, and yet his mind was ſo ſet upon his goods that he feared;

Left part thereof they tooke away,
Whiles that on ſhore aſleep he lay.

His avarice were lamentable, nay, it were abominable, I aſſure you: But if as ſome do thinke and ſay, being not ſure whether he were in the Iſle *Ithaca* or no, he ſuppoſed that the ſafety of his gods and money was a certaine proofe and demonſtration of the *Phæacians* loyalty and fidelity, (for never would they have tranſported him into a ſtrange land but for lucre, nor when they left him and departed would have forborne his goods) he uſed herein no fooliſh argument, and his providence in ſo doing is commendable. Some there be who find fault with this very landing of him upon the ſhore, in caſe the *Phæacians* did it whiles he was aſleep indeed: and they ſay, that it appeareth by a certaine Chronicle or Hiſtory among the *Tuscanes* which they keep by them, that *Ulyſſes* was given by nature to be very drouſie; which was the cauſe that to many he was not affable, and men oftentimes might hardly ſpeake with him. Now if this was no ſleep in very truth, but that being both aſhamed to ſend away the *Phæacians* who had conducted him over ſea without feaſting them and giving them preſents and rewards for their kindneſſe: and alſo in feare leſt if they were ſeen there ſtill upon the coaſt, whiles he entertained them ſo kindly, himſelfe might be diſcovered by his enemies, he uſed this pretence of feigned ſleep to cover and hide the perplexity wherein he was, or to ſhift off this difficulty wherein he ſtood in this caſe, they allow and commend him for it. In giving therefore to young men ſuch adverti ſements as theſe, we ſhall never ſuffer them to run on ſtill to the corruption of their manners, but rather imprint in them preſently a fervent zeale and hearty deſire to chuſe better things, namely, if we proceed directly to praiſe this, and to diſpraiſe that. And this would be done eſpecially in Tragedies, thoſe I meane, wherein fine words and affected ſpeeches be oftentimes framed to cloake diſhoneſt and villanous deeds. For that which *Sophocles* ſaith in one place is not alwaies true:

If that it be a naughty deed,
Of it good words cannot proceed.

For even himſelfe is wont many times to palliat wicked conditions, yea, and naughty acts with pleaſant ſpeeches, and familiar apparant reaſons, which carry a probability of ſufficient excuſe. And even ſo playeth *Euripides* his companion, who ſhewed himſelfe upon the ſame ſtage: for ſee you not how he bringeth in *Phædra* to begin with her husband *Theſeus*? Firſt, laying all the blame on him; as if forſooth the wrongs and abuſes that he offered unto her, were the cauſe that ſhe was enamoured upon *Hyppolitus*? The like audacious and bold ſpeech he putteth in *Helenas* mouth againſt queen *Hecuba*, in that Tragedy which is entituled *Troades*, objecting unto her, and ſaying, That ſhe was rather to be puniſhed for bearing ſuch a ſon as *Alexander Paris*, who committed the adultery with her. A young man then ought not to accuſtome himſelfe to think any ſuch inventions as theſe to be pretty, gallant, and witty, ne yet laugh at ſuch ſubtile and fine devices; but to abhorre and deteſt as much, or rather more, wanton and filthy words than looſe and diſhoneſt deeds.

Moreover, it would be expedient in all ſpeeches to ſearch the cauſe whereupon they do proceed; after the example of *Cato* when he was a little boy: For, do he would whatſoever his Maſter or Tutour bad; but ever and anon he would be inquiſitive and queſtioning with him the reaſon of his commandements. And yet we are not to beleeve and obey Poets, as we ought either Schoole-maſters or Law-givers, unleſſe the matter by them propoſed have reaſon for the ground: and grounded then it ſhall be thought upon reaſon, if it be good and honeſt: for if it be wicked, it ought to ſeeme fooliſh and vaine. But many of theſe men there be, who are very ſharp and curious in ſearching and demanding what *Heſiodus* ſhould meane in this verſe,

Whiles men are drinking, do not ſet
The flagon over the wine goblet.

As alſo what ſenſe may be made of theſe verſes in *Homer*:

Another chariot who mounted is,
When from his own he is alight,
Muſt not his ſpeare and javelin miſſe,
But truſt thereto, and therewith fight.

But other ſentences, ivvis, of greater importance and danger, they admit ſoone, and give credit thereto, without further enquiry and examination: as for example, at theſe verſes they ſtick not,

The privity to fathers vice,
Or mothers fault reproachable,
Will him debaſe, who otherwiſe,
Is hardy, ſtout, and commendable.

No more than they do at this,

Upon a man, if fortune frowne,
His heart therewith muſt be caſt down.

And yet ſuch ſayings as theſe come neare unto us, and touch the quick, troubling our manner and behaviour in this life, imprinting in us perverſe judgements, baſe and unmanly opinions, unleſſe we acquaint our ſelves to contradict each of them in every point, after this manner. And wherefore ought he to beare an abject mind, who is croſſed with adverſe fortune? Why rather ſhould not he make head againe, and wreſtle with her, bearing himſelfe ſo much the more aloft,

and

and never endure to be trodden dovvn and depreſſed by her? What reaſon is there, that my heart ſhould be down, for that my father vvas vicious and fooliſh, in caſe I be a vviſe and honeſt man my ſelfe? Is there greater cauſe that the ignorance and imperfection of my father ſhould keep me dovvn and diſcourage me, that I dare not looke up, than mine ovvn knovvledge and valour make me take heart and put my ſelfe forth? He that vvill thus encounter, vvithſtand, and not give vvay to every ſpeech, turning ſide, as it vvere, to every puffe of wind, but rather eſteeme that ſentence of *Heraclitus* to be vvell and truly ſpoken,

A fooliſh and witleſſe man is he,
With every word who ſtricken will be.

Such a one, I ſay, ſhall be able to put by and repell many ſayings of Poets, that are neither true nor profitable. And thus much as touching thoſe obſervations vvhich may ſerve a young mans turne, that he may read and heare Poets ſafe vvithout any danger.

But foraſmuch as it falleth out, that as in vines many times the grapes lie hidden among the leaves and branches, and cannot be ſeen by reaſon that they are covered and ſhadovved therevvith: ſo alſo in poeticall verſes, under fables and fictions there be covertly couched many profitable and vvholſome leſſons, vvhich a young man cannot eſpy by himſelfe, and therefore he miſſeth that commodity and fruit vvhich is to be reaped out thereof. Hovvbeit, vve muſt not ſuffer this, nor let him turne avvay, and give over: he ought not (I ſay) to vvander aſide, but ſtick cloſe and faſt to thoſe matters eſpecially, vvhich lead unto vertue, and make any thing for the framing or reforming of manners. In vvhich regard, I ſhall not do amiſſe, if I treat alſo of this matter briefly; making, as it vvere, a firſt draught only, and touching ſummarily the principall points; leaving long diſcourſes, by vvay of narration, confirmation, and a multitude of examples, to thoſe that vvrite of purpoſe for more ſhevv and oſtentation. Firſt and formoſt therefore, vvhen a young man knovveth throughly the perſons of men and vvomen, their natures alſo and manners both good and bad, let him then regard and conſider well the ſayings and doings vvhich the Poet doth attribute aptly unto either of them. As for example, *Achilles* ſaith unto *Agamemnon* theſe vvords, although he ſpeaketh them in choler,

For never ſhall I honor have,
Nor equall recompence to you,
When populous Troy, *that city brave,*
The Greeks ſhall force, as they do vow.

But *Therſites* reviling the ſelfe-ſame *Agamemnon*, uſeth theſe termes;

Much brazen veſſell thou haſt now in many a goodly tent,
Of captive women eke like choiſe, in beauty excellent,
In thy pavilion: whom we Greeks, as to our Soveraigne
Do give, ſo ſoon as any town by martiall force we gaine.

Againe *Achilles* in another place hath this humble ſpeech,

If Jupiter *will be ſo good, as to fulfill our joy,*
And grant that we one day may win the ſtately City Troy.

But *Therſites* commeth out vvith this proud vvord,

Whom either I, or in my ſtead,
Some Greeke ſhall bound as captive lead.

Semblably in another place, vvhen in the revievv of the armie, *Agamemnon*, paſſing along the bands, rebuked and taunted *Diomedes*, he anſvvered not againe, nor gave him one croſſe vvord:

For why he feared in modeſty
The checkes of his dread Majeſty.

But *Sthenelus*, of vvhom no man made any reckoning, vvas ſo bold as to reply, and ſay,

Sir Agamemnon, Atreus *Son, forbeare thus for to lye,*
You can, if that you liſt, with me report a truth: for why?
Pronounce I dare, and it avow, we better warriours be
In theſe daies than our fathers were, by many a degree.

The difference vvhich is in theſe perſonages, if it be vvell marked, vvill teach a young man thus much: That to be modeſt, temperate, void of pride, and humble, is a moſt civill and excellent vertue: and contrarivviſe it vvill advertiſe him to take heed of pride and overvveening; to bevvare alſo of boaſting and vaunting much of himſelfe, as a deteſtable vice. And here in this place, expedient it is and unprofitable to obſerve the action of *Agamemnon*: He paſſed by *Sthenelus*, and vvould not ſtay to ſpeake unto him: As for *Ulyſſes*, vvho found himſelfe grieved, him he neglected not, but ſhaped him an anſvver: For as *Homer* vvriteth,

No ſooner he perceived him offended for to be,
But preſently he ſpake again, and thus replied he.

For as it is a baſe and ſervile thing, and not beſeeming the Majeſty of a Prince to anſvver every one, and by vvay of Apology to juſtifie a thing done or ſaid; ſo to deſpiſe and diſdaine all men, is meere pride and extreme folly. As for *Diomedes*, he did paſſing vvell to hold his peace during the time of the battell, vvhen he vvas rebuked and reviled by the King, but after the fight vvas ended, he ſpake his mind freely and boldly in this wiſe;

You are the firſt of all the Greeks, who in reproachfull wiſe
Have charged me for my falſe heart, and fearfull cowardiſe.

Good

Good alſo it is, to ſee the difference between a wiſe man indeed and a vaine ſooth-ſayer, who loved to be ſeen, and to heare himſelfe ſpeak among the multitude. For *Calchas* without all reſpect of chuſing his time and a fit opportunity, baſhed not in publike place, and before all the people to challenge King *Agamemnon*, imputing directly unto him, and to no other, the cauſe of the peſtilence which reigned in the campe. But *Neſtor*, contrariwiſe, intending to make a motion as touching the reconciliation and pacifying of *Achilles*, and to ſpeake directly unto that point, becauſe he would not ſeem to blame and accuſe the King in the audience of the people; namely, that he had paſſed himſelfe in choler, and done amiſſe, adviſeth him in this manner, ſaying:

To ſupper bid the ancient peeres: this doth your perſon fit;
And when they are together met, in order as they ſit,
Let them opine, Heare their advice, and looke who ſpeaketh beſt,
His counſell take I reed, and then therein ſee that you reſt.

And after ſupper he ſent forth the Embaſſadours accordingly. This was the only way to correct a fault, and amend that was amiſſe: whereas the other had been a very injurious accuſation, and a contumelious reproofe to his no ſmall diſgrace. Furthermore, there would be noted and conſidered the diverſity that is in ſundry nations, and that after this manner: The Trojans give the charge in battell to their enemies with great ſhouts, out-cries, and exceeding violence: whereas the Greeks

The onſet give with all ſilence,
To Leaders having reverence.

For Souldiers to dread and feare their captaines and commanders, at what time as they be ready to joyne battell with the enemy, is a ſigne both of valour and alſo of obedience and military Diſcipline. Which is the reaſon that *Plato* would inure us to be afraid of rebukes, reproofes, and filthy acts, more than of any travels and dangers. *Cato* likewiſe was wont to ſay, That he loved thoſe better who bluſhed and looked red, than the pale-faced. As for promiſes, there is a proper worke alſo in them, whereby a man may diſcerne whether they be wiſe or fooliſh. For *Dolon* promiſeth in this manner:

The campe of Greeks I enter will and paſſe on ſtill outright,
Untill to Agamemnons *ſhip I come there for to fight.*

Contrariwiſe, *Diomedes* promiſeth nothing of himſelfe, only this he ſaith: That he ſhould feare the leſſe, if he were ſent with ſome other to beare him company. Whereby you may ſee that Prudence, Diſcretion, and Forecaſt be civill vertues beſeeming the Greeks; but audacious raſhneſſe is naught, and fit for Barbarians. The one therefore we muſt embrace and imitate, the other reject and caſt behind us. Moreover it were a ſpeculation not unprofitable to marke the affections that befell unto the Trojans, and to *Hector* at what time as he was ready to enter into combate and ſingle fight with *Ajax*. *Æſchylus* being upon a time in place to behold the combates at the *Iſthmian* games, it fell out ſo that one of the champions was hurt and wounded in the very face, whereupon the people that looked on ſet up a great cry and ſhouted aloud; See, quoth he what uſe and exerciſe is! the Beholders cry out, but the man himſelfe that is hurt ſaith never a word. In like manner, when *Homer* the Poet ſaith, that *Ajax* was no ſooner ſeen in his bright compleat harneſs, and armed at all pieces, but the Greeks rejoyced: whereas

The Trojans all for feare did quake, and tremble every joynt,
Hector *himſelfe did feele his heart to beat even at this point.*

Who would not wonder to ſee this difference? The party himſelfe who was in danger, felt his heart only to leape, as if he had been (I aſſure you) to wreſtle for the beſt game, or to run a race for the prize: but they that ſaw him trembled and ſhaked all their body over, for feare of the perill wherein their Prince was, and for kind affection that they bare unto him. It is worth the noting alſo what odds and difference there is between the moſt reſolute or valiant Captaine, and the greateſt coward: For it is ſaid of *Therſites*, that

Achilles *of all that were in the Hoſt*
And alſo Ulyſſes *he hated moſt.*

Whereas *Ajax* as he alwaies loved *Achilles*, ſo he giveth an honourable teſtimony thereof, when he ſpake unto *Hector* in this wiſe,

In ſingle fight with me alone what worthy knight we have
In Grecian hoſt, thou maiſt not ſee beſides Achilles *brave:*
Achilles *he, the Paragon of Proweſſe whom we count,*
Whoſe Lions heart undaunted yet all others doth ſurmount.

This is a ſingular commendation of *Achilles* particularly: but that which followeth afterwards, is aptly ſpoken to the praiſe of all in generall:

Wot well that many of us there be
In Campe that dare and can
Make head, and maintaine fight with thee
In combate man to man.

Marke, how he praiſeth not himſelfe to be the man alone, or the moſt valourous of all other, but is content to be ranged with many more as ſufficient men to make their part good againſt him.

Thus

Thus much may ſerve as touching the diverſity of perſons, unleſſe we will adde this moreover, That of Trojans we read there were many taken priſoners alive by their enemies, but of the Greeks not one: as alſo that divers of them became humble ſuppliants to their enemies, and fell down at their feet; namely, *Adraſtus*, the ſons of *Antimachus* and *Lycaon*: yea, and *Hector* himſelfe beſought *Achilles* to vouchſafe him buriall: whereas, there was not one of them that did the like: As if thus much were implied thereby, that it is the manner of Barbarians in fight, to make ſupplication, to ſubmit, to kneele and lie proſtrate before the enemy: but of Grecians, either to win the victory by maine fight, or to dye for it.

Moreover, like as in paſturage and feeding, the Bee ſetleth upon flowers: the goate ſearcheth after green leaves and brouſeth young buds: the Swine ſeeketh for roots, and other beaſts for the ſeed and fruit; Even ſo in reading Poems, one gathereth the flower of the Hiſtory: another cleaveth to the elegancy of phraſe and furniture of words, as *Ariſtophanes* was wont to ſay of *Euripides*,

His tongue ſo round doth pleaſe my mind,
In ſtile ſo ſmooth, content I find.

Others there be who affect morall ſentences aptly fitted to the reformation of manners. Thoſe therfore with whom now we have to deale, and to whom we direct our ſpeech, we are to admoniſh that it were a ſhame and unworthy thing, if either he who ſetteth his mind upon fables ſhould mark well the witty narrations, and ſingular fine inventions therein: or he that delighteth in eloquence ſhould note deligently the pure and elegant phraſe, the artificiall rhetorick alſo, as he readeth: whiles he, that would ſeeme to affect honour, to ſtudy honeſty, and to take Poets in hand not for delight, pleaſure, and paſtime, but for the inſight of learning, and for the treaſure of knowledge, readeth and heareth careleſſely and without fruits, thoſe ſentences which are penned and delivered by them to the recommendation of fortitude, temperance and juſtice: For as concerning valour and vertue you ſhall find theſe verſes;

What is befalne ſir Diomede,
That we forget to fight?
How is it that our hearts be done?
Where is our Martiall might?
Come neere, ſtand cloſe unto my ſide,
Great ſhame it were for vs,
If Hector *now ſhould boord our ſhips,*
And force our navy thus.

For to ſee a moſt wiſe and prudent Captaine who was in danger to periſh, and to be overthrown together with the whole army, not to be affraid of death, but to feare reproach and ſhamefull diſgrace, the ſame no doubt will cauſe a young man to be wonderfully affectionate to vertue and proweſſe.

For wiſdome and juſtice theſe verſes ſerve:

Minerva *then took great delight*
To ſee the man wiſe and upright.

Such a ſentence as this will give occaſion to a young ſcholler thus to reaſon and diſcourſe: The Poet here hath deviſed, that the goddeſſe joyed not in a rich man, in one that was faire, well-favoured and perſonable, or mighty in bodily ſtrength: but in him that was prudent and juſt withall. And in another place where the ſame goddeſſe ſaith, that ſhe will not neglect nor forſake *Ulyſſes* and leave him deſtitute:

For tongue he hath and wit at will:
He is both wiſe and full of skill.

The Poet ſheweth plainly; That there is nothing in us but vertue only that is divine and beloved of the gods: if this be true that like will to like, and Naturally every thing delighteth in the Semblable. Now foraſmuch as it ſeemeth to be a great matter and rare perfection, as in truth it is no leſſe, to be able to maſter and bridle anger: certes a greater vertue it is, and a gift more ſingular to prevent and wiſely to forecaſt, that we fall not into choler, nor ſuffer our ſelves to be ſurpriſed therewith: And therefore the readers of Poets ought to be advertiſed in theſe points not coldly, but in good earneſt: as namely, how *Achilles*, a man by nature nothing meeke, mild and patient, giveth warning unto *Priamus* to be quiet, and not to provoke him, in theſe words:

Take heed old father I thee reed,
How thou my choler move:
I minded am thy ſon to yeeld:
For why? from Jove *above*
A meſſenger hath warn'd me ſo:
Beware gray-beard, I ſay,
Leſt that my tent will not thee ſave,
But forthwith I thee ſlay:
Although in humble wiſe thou come,
With ſuppliants habit dight,
And ſo I do tranſgreſſe Joves *will,*
And breake the laws of right.

Who

Who also after he had washed the corps of *Hector*, and wound it within Funerall cloaths, bestowed the same with his own hands in the chariot, before that *Priamus* his father should see it, so misused as it was,

For feare lest when he saw
His son so mangled and beraid
In griefe of heart, old father he,
Should not himselfe be staid;
But with hot words Achilles *move*
In him to sheath his sword,
Without regard of Jupiter, *his hests,*
His will and word.

For when a man is apt and prone to anger, as being of nature hot, rough and cholericke, to know himselfe so given, and therewith to prevent, decline, and avoid all occasions of ire, and by the guidance of reason to hold off, in such sort, that even, as it were, against his will, he shall not fall into any passionate fits, is a point of great wisdome and singular providence. After the same manner ought he that is given to wine to be armed against drunkennesse: he also that is by nature amorous, should thus withstand wanton love: Like as *Agesilaus*, who would not abide to be kissed of a beautifull young boy comming toward him: and *Cyrus*, who durst not so much as set his eye upon faire *Panthea*. Whereas contrariwise, those that be ill nurtured and badly brought up, seeke all meanes and occasions to kindle and enflame their foolish affections, ministring matter thereto, as fewell unto fire: casting themselves headlong, and that wilfully, into those vices, whereunto they are most prone and ready to fall by nature. But *Ulysses* not only brideled and repressed his own choler when he was chafed, but also perceiving by some words of *Telemachus* his son, that he was angry and hatefully bent against lewd persons, he laboured to appease and mitigate his mood: he dealt with him before-hand, willing and commanding him to be quiet, to forbeare and have patience.

My son, if that by word or deed
In mine own house they me abuse,
Bite in thine anger, I thee reed,
See thou indure, and patience use:
Nay, if they draw me by the foot,
And out of doores me drag anon,
Or their sharpe arrows at me shoot,
See all, say nought, what ever is done.

For like as men use not to bridle their horses when they be running in a race, but before they begin their course; even so they that hardly can digest indignities, and upon occasion offered are quickly angry, ought first to be præoccupate with reason: and being thus prepared before-hand, to bring them to the combate.

Over and besides, a young man must not negligently passe over the bare words as he readeth. And yet I speake not this, as though I would have him play upon them, as *Cleanthes* did, who making semblance to interpret and expound words, would otherwhiles cavill and make sport. For whereas we read in *Homer*,

Σεῦ πατὲρ Ἰδηθεν μεδέων. & Σεῦ ἀνὰ Δωδωναῖε.

He would have us to read these two last words in one, by way of ὑφὲν, thus, Σεῦ ἀναδωδωναῖε, as if forsooth, the aire which by exhalation is elevated, and doth rise from the earth, should therefore be called ἀναδωδωναῖος. *Chrysippus* likewise many times comes in with his bald reasons, without all grace: and this he doth not in jest and meriment, but he would seeme to devise reasons subtilly; and so forceth divers words impertinently: as namely, when he wresteth these words, Ευρύοπα Κρονίδην, to this sense, as if ἐυρύοπα should signifie one that was eager and quick in disputation or argument, surpassing others in force of eloquence. It were better for us to leave these nice subtilties of words and syllables unto Grammarians for to be scanned, and to consider more nearly other observations, which, as they yeeld greater profit, so they carry with them more probability and likelihood of truth: and namely, to pick some good out of these verses;

Most crosse unto my mind it is,
For taught I am prowesse iwis.

Also,

Full well he knew, to every wight
To shew himselfe a curteous knight.

For hereby he declareth evidently, that valour and fortitude is gotten by teaching: as also, he is of opinion, That to be mild, affable and kind to every man, is a gracious vertue, proceeding from science and reason: wherupon he exhorteth us, not to be carelesse of our selves, but to learne good and honest things, by giving eare unto our teachers: for that cowardise, folly, and perverse incivility, be the defects of learning and are meere ignorance indeed. Hereto accordeth very well that which the same Poet *Homer* saith of *Jupiter* and *Neptune*:

Behold, one father both they had,
And countrey one them bred:

But

But Jupiter *was former borne,*
And had the wiſer head.

He declareth hereby that wiſdome is a moſt divine and princely quality; wherein he placeth the ſoveraigne and higheſt excellency of *Iupiter*, as eſteeming all other good parts to accompany that ſoveraigne and heavenly vertue. We are likewiſe to acquaint a young man to heare, and that with no heavy and dull eare, but attentively and with a vigilant mind, theſe other verſes;

Right wiſe he is, and wot you well,
A lie for no good will he tell.
Alſo,
Antilochus, *reputed aye for wiſe, you are to blame*
My ſteeds to hurt, mine honour eke thus for to ſtaine with ſhame.
Likewiſe,
You, a worthy knight, to ſpeake ſo fooliſhly!
I would have ſaid you had in wit, paſt all men verily.

Theſe ſentences import thus much; That wiſe men will never ſpeake untruths: neither will they in battell behave themſelves as cowards, and uſe deceit in fight, ne yet charge unjuſt imputations upon others without reaſon. Alſo when the Poet ſaith, that he through his folly ſuffered himſelfe to be induced and perſwaded to break the truce and league, he ſheweth plainly, That he thinketh a wiſe man will in no wiſe commit unrighteouſneſſe. The like may of a young man be taught, as touching continency and chaſtity, eſpecially, if he conſider well theſe verſes.

K. Proetus *wife, Dame* Antea, *him lov'd and wooed ſoon*
For to embrace her ſecretly, and lie with her anon:
But never would he yeeld thereto. Belleryphon *was wiſe,*
And in his heart he never let ſuch thoughts for to ariſe.
As alſo theſe,
Dame Clytemneſtra *firſt was chaſte, and wanton tricks rejected*
All while ſhe was by reaſon led, and wiſdomes lore directed.

In theſe places we ſee, that the Poet attributeth the cauſe of continency and pudicity unto wiſedome. Furtherward in thoſe exhortations whereby Captaines uſe to encourage their ſouldiers to fight, when the Poet eftſoones inferreth theſe, and ſuch like ſpeeches,

Fye, fie for ſhame O Lycians,
You are now light of ſoot,
To runn away thus as you do,
Iwis it will not boot.
Alſo,
A conflict ſharpe is toward, Sirs,
Wherefore let every one
Set ſhame and juſt revenge in ſight,
Elſe all, I doubt, is gone.

By which words the Poet ſeemeth to aſcribe fortitude unto ſhamefaſtneſſe and modeſty: For that thoſe who are baſhfull and aſhamed to commit filthineſſe, are able likewiſe not only to overcome voluptuous pleaſures; but alſo to undergo all dangerous adventures. By occaſion whereof *Timotheus* alſo in his Poem entituled *Perſe* was moved not unaptly to encourage the Greeks to fight, ſaying thus:

Have honeſt ſhame in reverence,
And honour her, I you adviſe.
She helpeth Proweſſe, and from hence
The victory doth oft ariſe.

Æſchylus alſo reputeth it a point of wiſdome, not to be vaine-glorious, nor deſirous to be ſeen of the multitude, ne yet to be lifted up with the puffes of popular praiſe, when he deſcribeth *Amphiaraus* in this wiſe:

He ſeeketh not to ſeeme the very beſt,
But for to be the beſt in word and deed:
He ſowed hath within his worthy breſt,
In furrow deep, all good and vertuous ſeed,
Which yeeld both leafe and fruit in ſeaſon due,
I meane ſage counſell joyn'd with honour true.

For the part it is of a wiſe man and of good conceit, to ſtand upon his own bottome, that is to ſay, to reſt in himſelfe, and to thinke highly of his own reſolutions and courſes as the very beſt. Thus you ſee how all good things being reduced unto prudence, there is no kind of vertue but it commeth to a man afterwards, and is acquired by learning and diſcipline.

Moreover, like as Bees have this property by nature, to find and ſuck the mildeſt and beſt honey, out of the ſharpeſt and moſt eager flowers; yea, and from among the rougheſt and moſt prickly thornes: even ſo children and young men, if they be well nurtured and orderly inured in the reading of Poems, will learne after a ſort to draw alwaies ſome wholſome and profitable doctrine or other, even out of thoſe places which move ſuſpition of lewd and abſurd ſenſe. At

the

the first sight *Agamemnon* may seem suspected of avarice and bribery, in that he exempted from warfare that rich * man in regard of the faire mare *Æthe*, which he gave unto him as a gift and gratuity:

* Echepolus

That unto Troy *that stately towne,*
He might not with him go
To serve in armes: but stay at home,
And rest there far from woe:
Where he might live in solace much,
Enjoying all his own:
For Jupiter *in measure great*
Had wealth on him bestowen.

Howbeit, as *Aristotle* saith, he did very well in preferring a good mare before a man no better than he was: For I assure you a coward and hartlesse man, flowing in abundance of riches, wallowing in pleasures and delight, and thereby made effeminate, is not in price comparable either to a dog or an asse. Semblably, it may seeme that *Thetis* did exceeding badly to incite her son to pleasures, and to put him in mind of the fleshly delights of *Venus*: But even there the continency of *Achilles* is worthy to be considered: who notwithstanding that he had been enamoured of *Briseis*, and saw that she was returned againe unto him, yea, and knew then he had not long to live, but that his end was neare; yet neither made he haste to enjoy his pleasures while he might, nor, as many men use to do, bewailed the death of his friend, sitting idlely the while, doing nothing at all, and neglecting the duties of his calling: but as in sorrow and griefe of heart he forbare his delights and pleasures; so in action and conduct of his regiment he shewed himselfe a martiall and valourous man. In like manner *Archilochus* is not commended for this, that being to mourne and lament for the losse of his brother in law who married his sister, and was perished in the sea, he would seem to conquer his sorrow with drinking wine and making good cheere: yet nevertheless he alledgeth a cause of his doing so, which carrieth some apparence of reason in these words:

For neither can my plaints and teares restore his life and heale:
Ne yet my mirth and pleasant sports will harme him ever a deale.

And if he were of this mind, and had reason to thinke, that in following his delights, merriments, pastimes and bankets, he could not empaire the state of his brother departed; how should our present condition be the worse, and our affaires go backward, by the study and practice of Philosophy, by managing the government of publike weales, by frequenting the common hall and Courts of pleas, by going down to the Academy and schooles of learning, or by following Agriculture and husbandry?

And therefore the corrections of some poeticall verses by changing certaine words, which practice *Cleanthes* and *Antisthenes* were wont to use, are not amisse. For one of them upon a time when the *Athenians* in full-Theatre took offence and made a great stirre at this verse:

Τίδ' αἰσχρόν ἐι μὴ τοῖσι χρωμένοις δοκῇ,
What filthy thing can be that breedeth shame?
Unlesse they think it so that use the same?

Quieted all the trouble presently by changing it and pronouncing another in this wise,

αἰσχρὸν τὸ γ' αἰσχρόν, κἂν δοκῇ κἂν μὴ δοκῇ.
A filthy thing, is foule and filthy still:
Thinke it, or thinke it not, that doth not skill.

As for *Cleanthes* when he read these verses as touching riches:

φίλοις τε δοῦναι σῶμά τ' εἰς ἡδονὰς πιεῖν
δαπάναισι σῶσαι,
Among good friends for to bestow, and spend upon your selfe
Your sickly body to preserve; thus use your worldly pelfe.

He altered them in this manner, and wrote thus:

πόρναις τε δοῦναι σῶμα τ' εἰς ἡδονὰς πιεῖν
δαπάναις ὀλιτρίψαι,
That you may it to harlots give, and pampring much your selfe:
A crasie body overthrow, abusing worldly pelfe.

Semblably *Zeno* reading these verses of *Sophocles*,

ὅστις δὲ πρὸς τύραννον εἰ σπουδεύεται,
κἂν ὑσὶ δοῦλος κἂν ἐλεύθερος μολῇ.
Who once in court of Tyrant serve, become
His slaves anon, though free they thither come.

Turned the same, and wrote this againe,

οὐκ ἔστι δοῦλος, ὃν ἐλεύθερος μολῇ.
His slave in wis he cannot be,
If he at first came thither free.

But you must not understand that he meaneth here by a free man, one that is timorous, but feareless, magnanimous, and whose heart is not easie to be daunted. What should hinder us then,

but

but that we alſo by ſuch ſuggeſtions and correctiõs as theſe may reclaime and withdraw young men from the worſe to the better. Whereas therefore we ſhall meet with theſe verſes,

τὸ δ' ἐσὶ τὸ ζηλωτὸν ἀνθρώποις, ὅτῳ
τόξον μερίμνης εἰς ὃ βέλεται πέσῃ.
The thing that men are for to wiſh and moſt deſire is this,
That when they ſhout at their delights, the arrow may not miſſe.

Not ſo, but rather thus,

τόξον μερίμνης εἰς ὃ συμφέρον πέσῃ.
That when they aime at their profit,
The arrow may be ſure to hit.

For to reach into thoſe things which a man ought not to deſire, yea, and to obtaine, and have the ſame is pitifull and lamentable, and in no wiſe to be wiſhed for. Likewiſe, when we read in *Homer* thus,

Thy part of weale and woe thou muſt, O Agamemnon, *have,*
For Atreus *did not thee beget, alwaies to win or ſave,*

We verily are thus to ſay rather,

Thou art to joy, and never for to grieve,
But in a meane eſtate delight to live.
For Athens *did not* Agamemnon *get*
The world at will to have, and find no let.

Againe when we meet with this verſe,

Alas what miſchiefe ſent to men,
Is this from gods above,
That they ſhould ſee what thing is good,
And it not uſe nor love?

Sent from gods above? Nay rather, it is a brutiſh, unreaſonable, yea, a wofull and lamentable thing, that a man ſeeing that which is better, ſhould for all that be carried away and tranſported to the worſe, by reaſon of intemperance, ſloath, and effeminate ſoftneſſe of the mind.
Alſo, if we light upon this ſentence,

Behaviour 'tis, and good carriage,
That do perſwade, and not language

Not ſo iwis, but manners and words together are perſwaſive: or rather the manners by meanes of ſpeech, like as the horſe is ruled by the bit and bridle, and as the Pilot guideth the ſhip by the rudder or helme. For ſurely vertue is furniſhed with no inſtrument or meanes ſo gracious with men and ſo familiar, as ſpeech is.
Moreover, when you encounter theſe verſes;

For wanton love, how ſtands his mind,
To male more or to female kind?
Anſwer.
Both hands are right, with him, where beauty is,
Neither of twaine to him can come amiſs.

Nay, rather thus he ſhould have anſwered:

Where vertue is ſeated, and continence,
Both hands are like, there is no difference.

And to ſpeake truly, and more plainly, in equall ballance poyſed he is indeed, inclining neither the one way nor the other: Whereas contrariwiſe, he that with pleaſure and beauty ſwayeth to and fro, is altogether left-handed, inconſtant, and incontinent.
Read you at any time this verſe?

Φόβος τὰ θεῖα τοῖσι σώφροσι βροτῶν.
Religion true, and right godlineſſe
Make wiſe men fearfull alwaies, more or leſſe.

In no wiſe admit thereof, but ſay thus:

Θάρσος τὰ θεῖα τοῖσι σώφροσι βροτῶν,
Religion true, and right godlineſſe,
Make wiſe men bold, and hardy, more or leſſe.

For in truth, feare and deſpaire, by the meanes of religion, ariſeth in the hearts of none but of fooles, unthankfull and ſenſeleſſe perſons, who have in ſuſpition and do dread that divine power which is the firſt cauſe of all good things, as hurtfull unto them. Thus much concerning correction of ſentences.

There is beſides an amplification of that which we read, whereby a ſentence may be ſtretched farther than the bare words import. And thus *Chryſippus* hath rightly taught us how to transfer and apply that which was ſpoken of one only thing, to many of the like kind, and ſo to make a profitable uſe thereof: for after this manner when *Heſiodus* ſaith,

An oxe or cow a man ſhall never loſe,
If neighbour his be not malicious.

He meaneth by oxe or cow his dog likewiſe and aſſe, yea, and all things elſe that may periſh. Semblably, whereas *Euripides* ſaith thus,

A slave indeed, whom may we justly call?
Even him, of death who thinketh not at all,

We must understand that he meant and spake, as well of labour, affliction and sicknesse, as of death. And verily, as physitians finding the vertue and operations of a medicine applied and fitted to one malady, by the knowledge thereof can skill how to accommodate the same to all others of the like nature, and use it accordingly; even so, when we meet with a sentence that is common, and whereof the profit may serve to many purposes, we ought not to oversee and neglect the manifold use thereof, and leave it as appropriate to one only matter: but to handle the same so, that it may be applied to all of like sort: and herein we must inure and exercise young men, to see and know readily this communion, and with a quick conceit to transfer that which they find apt and proper in many, and by examples to be practised and made prompt therein, so as they be able to marke at the first hearing the semblable: To the end that when they come to read in *Menander* this verse,

A happy man we may him call,
Who hath much wealth, and wit withall.

They may very well thinke that in naming wealth, he meant and included Honour, Authority, and Eloquence. Also, that the imputation which *Ulysses* charged upon *Achilles*, sitting idlely in the Island *Scyros*, among the young maidens and damosels, in these words,

You sir, whose father was a knight,
The best that ever drew
His sword, of all the Greeks in fight,
And many a captaine slew:
Sit you here carding, like a wench,
And spinning wooll on rocke,
Thereby the glorious light to quench
Of your most noble stocke?

May be aptly said unto any loose liver and voluptuous wanton, unto a covetous and wretched miser, unto an idle luske, an untaught or ignorant lozell. As for example, in lieu of this verse in the foresaid imputation,

ξαίνεις ἀρίστου πατρὸς ἑλλήνων γεγὼς.
What, what, good sir? are you become a spinster now for need,
Whose father was of all the Greeks a knight of doughtiest deed.

A man may read, and not unfitly, thus:

πίνεις ἀρίστου, &c.
Can you carrouse so lustily, and tosse the pot so round,
Whose father knew to shake a speare, and stoutly stand his ground?

Or after this manner,

κυβεύεις ἀρίστου &c.
Your courage serves to hazard all at casting of three dies,
Your fathers heart was tried in war and martiall jeopardies.

Either thus,

ὀρτυγοκοπεῖς ἀρίστου, &c.
You cunning are to play at quoiles the game,
Whereas your sire, by prowess wan much fame.

Or in this wise,

καπηλεύεις ἀρίστου, &c.
Are you become indeed a Tavernour,
Whose father was a worthy governour?

Or lastly thus,

τοκογλυφεῖς ἀρίστου, &c.
In hundred ten, you can full well call for at such a day,
Your father tens and hundreds knew, to range in battell ray.

And in one word, so well as you are descended there is no goodhesse nor great thing in you worthy the noble parentage. Moreover, where you happen upon these verses,

What tell you me of Pluto *and his chievance,*
For such a god as he with all his puissance
I worship not: since that the lewdest wretch
In all the world to wealth may quickly reach.

A man may say as much of glory, of outward beauty, of the rich mantles of a Captaine generall, of a Bishops Miter, and the sacred coronet of a Priest, which we see the wickedest wretches in the world may attaine unto. Againe, whereas the words of another verse import thus much only:

That children gotten of cowardise,
Be foule, and those whom men despise.

The same verily do imply also, that intemperance, Superstition, Envy, and all other vices and maladies of the mind, bring forth no better off-spring. Now whereas *Homer* said excellent well in one place:

Paris

Paris *a coward thou art forſooth,*
For all thy face ſo faire and ſmooth.
And in another,
Sir Hector *in the prime of age,*
With lovely looks and faire viſage.

(For by theſe termes and epithites he ſheweth covertly that a man deſerveth blame and reproach, who is endued with no better grace and gift than beauty) we may well and fitly apply this reprehenſion to ſuch like things: namely, to pluck down their peacocks plumes, who vaunt and glorifie themſelves for matters of no moment and value: teaching young men thereby, that ſuch praiſes as theſe be no better than contumelies and reproaches: As for example, when a man is ſaluted in this manner: O moſt excellent for riches, for keeping a bountifull table, for many ſervitours: right excellent for ſingular good teames of draught oxen, caples and mules, for ſtables of ſteeds and great horſes: yea, or thus moreover to the reſt: O ſurpaſſing Oratour and of wonderfull eloquence: for to ſpeake a truth, a man is to aime at excellency and preference before others in good and honeſt things, that in the chiefe and principall he may be the higheſt and formoſt: as alſo in great matters the greateſt: for the reputation that groweth from ſmall and baſe things is diſhonourable, illiberable, vile, and of no worth. And verily this example laſt alledged, putteth us ſtraightwaies in mind, to conſider better the reprehenſions and praiſes which offer themſelves eſpecially in the Poems of *Homer*: For certes, they give us expreſly to underſtand one notable inſtruction, to wit, not highly to eſteeme the gifts either of body or of fortune. For firſt and formoſt (in thoſe titles which they give one to another in reciprocall greetings) when they meet and ſhake hands, the manner is not to ſalute by the name of Beautifull, Rich, or Strong, but they uſe ſuch commendations as theſe;

Ulyſſes, *O moſt noble knight, from* Jupiter *firſt deſcended,*
Laertes *ſon, for wiſdome, and much wit, yet moſt commended.*
Alſo,
O Hector, *ſon of* Priamus *king,*
Equall to Jove *in wiſdome and cunning.*
Likewiſe,
Achilles *O of* Peleus *the moſt redoubted ſon,*
Chiefe glory of the worthy Greeks, their light and ſhining ſun.
And againe,
Patroclus *O ſon of* Menætius,
Moſt lovely in my heart and gracious.

Semblably, when they are diſpoſed to revile and taunt, they twit not one another with any defects and imperfections of the body, but touch them expreſly with the vices of the mind, after this manner,

Thou drunken ſot, as ſhameleſſe as the dogs that uſe to barke;
Thou coward baſe, as heartleſſe as the ſtags that run in parke.
And thus,
Thou wrangling Ajax *of Barrotters chiefe*
Diviſing nought but evill and miſchiefe.
Semblaby,
Idomeneus *in frappling prompt,*
What mean'ſt thou thus to prate?
This babling little thee becomes,
Such clattering men do hate.
As alſo,
O Ajax *fie for ſhame: how far out of the way*
Speake you, ſo bold and malapart? you brag too much I ſay.

To conclude, *Ulyſſes* revileth not *Therſites* with theſe termes: Thou halting and lame ſquire, thou bald-pate, thou coptank, thou that art camell-backt, or crump-ſhouldered: but rather reproacheth him with his vaine babling and undiſcreet language. But rather on the contrary ſide, the mother of *Vulcan*, when ſhe ſpeaketh unto her ſon lovingly and in great kindneſſe of heart, beginneth firſt with his lameneſſe in this manner,

Come hither my ſon, come to me, come ſweet heart,
My poore limping creeple, come crooke-leg'd as thou art.

By this it may appeare plainly that *Homer* derideth thoſe who thinke it a ſhame to be halt, blind, or otherwiſe impotent. He is of opinion, that nothing is blame-worthy which is not diſhoneſt: nor any thing diſhoneſt and ſhamefull, which came not by our own ſelves, but proceeded from fortune. And therefore theſe two great and ſingular commodities, they are ſure to find, who be exerciſed in reading and hearing of Poets: the one tending to moderation and modeſty: in that they learne to reproach no man odiouſly, bitterly, and fooliſhly with his fortune: the other unto magnanimity; for that they be taught themſelves to make uſe of their own fortune: not to be caſt down and troubled for any adverſe calamity that may happen; but meekly and patiently to abide the frumps, ſcoffs, and reproachfull termes that are given them, yea, and the laughters that

ariſe thereupon. And verily evermore this ſentence of *Philemon* ought to be ready at hand and reſound in their eares:

Nothing there is more pleaſant and muſicall
Then him to abide who doth thee miſ-call.

Howbeit, if any of theſe mockers deſerve to be rebuked and taunted againe, vantage would be taken of the vices and imperfections of their mind, and thoſe are to be objected againſt them; for ſo *Adraſtus* in a tragedy, when *Alcmæon* provoked him with theſe words,

Alc. *A ſiſter thou haſt (I tell thee true)*
Who in husbands blond her hands did embrue.
Adr. *But thou thy ſelfe, (I muſt tell plaine)*
Thy mother that bare thee haſt cruelly ſlaine.

For like as they who whip and ſcourge garments, touch not the body at all: even ſo they that upbraid a man with infortunity, or reproach him for ſome default or blemiſh in his parentage, do like vaine fooles beat thoſe things that are without, but never come neare the quick, nor touch the ſoule, ne yet any thing which truly deſerveth correction, blame, or biting.

Over and beſide, as we ſhewed and taught before, how to impeach and derogate the credit of thoſe lewd ſentences and dangerous ſpeeches, which otherwhiles we meet with in Poeticall books, namely, by oppoſing againſt the ſame the good and grave ſaws of worthy perſons, renowned as well for their learning as politick government: even ſo, if we find any civill, honeſt, and profitable matter in Poetry, we ought (as it were) to nouriſh, confirme, and ſtrengthen the ſame by demonſtrations and teſtimonies Philoſophicall: and evermore to remember that we aſcribe the firſt invention of ſuch ſentences to ſage Philoſophers: For a juſt, requiſite, and commodious thing it is, that their credit ſhould be in that manner fortified and authorized: namely, when the Poems which are pronounced upon the Stage in a theater, or ſung to the harp, or taught unto children in ſchooles, do accord with the ſententious counſels of *Pythagoras*, the inſtructions of *Plato*, and the precepts of *Chilon*: when, I ſay, the rules of *Bias*, ſhall tend to the ſame end and effect as do thoſe leſſons that children are to read and learne. And therefore we are to teach and inſtruct them thus much, not ſlightly and by the way, but earneſtly and of purpoſe, that theſe places of Poets,

Faire daughter mine, thou wert not borne
To manage wars and armes ſo dread:
Mind thou loves ſports, and think no ſcorne
To joyne young folke in marriage bed.
Likewiſe;
For Jupiter diſpleaſed is with thee,
If that inſight thou overmatched bee.

Nothing at all differ from this notable ſentence, γνῶθι σεαυτὸν. *i. e.* Know thy ſelfe: but carry the very ſame ſenſe and meaning.

Alſo theſe verſes,

Like fooles, they do not know, iwis,
That halfe than whole much better is.
Likewiſe,
Evill counſels hurt no man ſo much,
As him that author is of ſuch.

Are all one in effect with the opinions and diſcourſes of *Plato* in his dialogue *Gorgias*, and in his books of *Commonweale*; to wit, that more dangerous it is to do wrong than to ſuffer injury; and more damage commeth by giving than by receiving an abuſe.

Alſo to this verſe of *Æſchylus*,

Be of good cheare: Exceſſive paine
Cannot endure, nor long remaine:
When woefull bale is at the higheſt,
Then bleſſed boot (be ſure) is nigheſt.

We muſt ſay that they be the very ſame with that divulged ſentence ſo often repeated by *Epicurus*, and ſo highly admired by his followers, namely, *That as great paines are not durable, ſo long griefes are tolerable.* And as the former member of this ſentence was evidently expreſſed by *Æſchylus*, ſo the other is a conſequent thereof, and implied therein. For if a griefe that is ſore and vehement endureth not; ſurely that which continueth cannot be violent or intolerable.

Semblably this ſentence of *Theſpis* the Poet in verſe,

Thou ſeeſt how Jove all other gods
For this doth far excell,
Becauſe that lies he doth abhor,
And pride of heart expell.
He is not wont to laugh and ſcorne,
To frumpe he doth diſdaine:
He only cannot skill of luſts
And pleaſures which be vaine.

Is varied by *Plato* in proſe, when he ſaith, that the divine power is ſeated far from pleaſure and paine. As for theſe verſes of *Barchylides*,

We hold it true, and ever will maintaine,
That glory ſound and vertue doth endure.
Great wealth and ſtore we take to be vaine,
And may befall to vile men and impure.

As alſo theſe of *Euripides* to the like ſenſe;

Sage temperance I hold, we ought
To honour moſt in heart;
For with good men it doth remaine,
And never will depart.

As alſo theſe,

When honour and worldly wealth you have,
To furniſh your ſelves with vertue, take care,
Without her, if riches you get and ſave,
Though bleſſed you ſeeme, unhappy you are.

Containe they not an evident proofe and demonſtration of that which the Philoſophers teach as touching riches and externall goods; which without vertue profit not thoſe at all who are poſſeſſed of them? And verily thus to reduce, and fitly to accommodate the ſentences of Poets unto the precepts and principles delivered by Philoſophers, will ſoon diſſever Poetry from fables, and pluck from it the maſque wherewith it is diſguiſed; it will give, I ſay, unto them an effectuall power, that being profitably ſpoken, they may be thought ſerious and perſwaſive: yea, and beſides, will make an overture and way unto the mind of a young lad, that it may encline the rather to Philoſophicall reaſons and diſcourſes: namely, when he having gotten ſome ſmatch and taſte already thereof, and being not void altogether of hearing good things, he ſhall not come altogether without judgement; repleniſhed only with fooliſh conceits and opinions which he hath evermore heard from his mothers and nurſes mouth, yea, and otherwhiles (beleeve me) from his father, tutour, and ſchoole-maſter: who will not ſtick in his hearing to repute for bleſſed and happy, yea, and with great reverence to give the worſhip to thoſe who are rich: but as for death, paine, and labour, to ſtand in feare and horrour thereof: and contrariwiſe to make no reckoning and account of vertue, but to deſpiſe the ſame, and thinke it as good as nothing, without earthly riches and authority. Ofttes, when young men ſhall come thus rawly and untrained, to heare the deciſions, reaſons, and arguments of Philoſophers, flat contrary to ſuch opinions, they will at firſt be much aſtonied, troubled, and diſquieted in their minds: and no more able to admit of the ſame, and to endure ſuch doctrine, than they, who having a long time been pent in, and kept in darke, can abide the glittering raies of the Sun-ſhine: unleſſe they were acquainted before by little and little with ſome falſe and baſtard light, not altogether ſo lively and cleare as it: And even ſo, I ſay, young men muſt be accuſtomed before-hand, yea, and from the very firſt day, to the light of the truth, entermingled ſomewhat with fables among, that they may the better endure the full light and ſight of the cleare truth, without any paine and offence at all. For when they have either heard or read before in Poems theſe ſentences:

Lament we ought for infants at their birth,
Entring a world of cares that they ſhall have:
Whereas the dead we ſhould with joy and mirth
Accompany, and bring them ſo to grave.

Alſo,

Of worldly things we need no more but twaine,
For bread to eat, the earth doth yeeld us graine:
And for to quench our thirſt, the river cleere
Affords us drinke, the water faire and ſheere,

Likewiſe,

O tyranny ſo lov'd, and in requeſt
With barbarous, but hatefull to the reſt.

Laſtly,

The higheſt pitch of mans felicity,
To feele the leaſt part of adverſity.

Leſſe troubled they are and grieved in ſpirit, when they ſhall heare in the Philoſophers ſchooles, That we are to make no account of death as a thing touching us: That the Riches of nature are definite and limited: That felicity and ſoveraigne happineſſe of man, lieth not in great ſums of money ne yet in the pride of managing State-affaires, nor in dignities and great authority, but in a quiet life free from paine and ſorrow: in moderating all paſſions, and in a diſpoſition of the mind kept within the compaſſe of Nature. To conclude, in regard hereof, as alſo for other reaſons before alledged, A young man had need to be well guided and directed in reading of Poets, to the end that he may be ſent to the ſtudy of Philoſophy not foreſtalled with ſiniſter ſurmiſes; but rather ſufficiently inſtructed before and prepared, yea, and made friendly and familiar thereto by the meanes of Poetry.

Of Hearing

The Summary.

BY good right, this present discourse was next unto the former twaine. For seeing we are not borne into this world learned; but before we can speake our selves sensibly or any thing to reason, we ought to have heard men who are able to deliver their minds with judgement, to the end that by their aide and help we may be better framed and fitted to the way of vertue: requisite it is, that after the imbibition of good nurture in childhood, and some liberty and license given to travell in the writings of Poets, according to the rules above declared; young men that are students should advance forward, and mount up into higher schooles. Now, for that in the time when this Author, Plutarch, *lived, besides many good books, there were a great number of professours in the liberall Sciences, and namely into those Cities, into which Barbarisme crept afterwards: he proposeth and setteth down those precepts now which they are to follow and observe that go to heare publike Lectures, Orations, and Disputations, thereby to know how to behave themselves there; which training haply may reach to all that which we shall heare spoken elsewhere; and is materiall to make us more learned and better mannered. In the first place therefore he sheweth that at what time as we grow to yeares of discretion we should have a feeling of our ignorance, to the end that we may be desirous to learne, and afterwards heare willingly. For to encrease our affection, he toucheth those dangers into which they fall, who will needs be teachers before they be taught themselves: adjoyning hereto those vices and inconveniences which a young man is to take heed of in hearing, and above all others to beware of envy: as also on the other side what he ought to study. Now, for that impossible it is, that teachers should be perfect and fully accomplished in all things, he proceedeth to declare with what mind and spirit we should take knowledge, and consider of their imperfections; giving withall an advertisement how to avoid another extremity, to wit, an excessive admiration of him that speaketh, namely, to leave the principall substance of doctrine: the which will be so much more accepted, in case it be commended and adorned with eloquence. He commeth afterwards to treate of those problemes and questions which may be propounded in companies and meetings: also of the pleasure that we ought to take when we are told the truth: in such sort, that as we are not to envy them for their excellency, who speake any thing to raise and set us aloft: so, on the contrary side we ought to carry with us thither a spirit favourable, gracious, well prepared, hating flattery, loving reprehensions, patient, void of that rusticall bashfulnesse which we see in over-blunt and dull natures, neither presumptuous nor yet discouraged, but keeping a good measure and meane between vaine curiosity and that supine sloath and idlenesse, which is in the most part of those that be hearers. To conclude, he would have him that hath diligently heard a certaine time, and with discretion, to exercise himself in devising and inventing something of his own, in such sort that he may put the same forth, so, as the outward part may discover well what goodnesse there lieth inclosed within.*

Of Hearing.

THis little Treatise (my friend *Nicander*) which being gathered and compiled by starts, as my leisure would serve, *As touching the manner of hearing*, I lately put in writing, and send here unto you, To the end that you being delivered now from the subjection of Masters, who were wont to command you, and having put on your virile robe and grown to mans estate, may know how to heare him that giveth you good counsell. For this licentious easement and delivery from all government, which some young men for default of good nurture and education do untruly terme *Liberty*, setteth over them more rough Lords and harder Masters by far than were those teachers, tutors, and governours, under whom they were awed in their childhood, to wit, their own irregular lusts, and unordinate appetites, which now be (as it were) dischained and let loose. For, like as a woman (to use the words of *Herodotus*) no sooner doth off her smock or inner vesture, but therewithall she casteth off all shamefastnesse and modesty; even so, some young men there be, who together with the garments of infancy and childhood lay by all grace, shame, and feare: so that being once divested of that habit and apparel which became them so well, and gave them a modest and sober countenance, they are straightwaies full of stubbornesse and disobedience. As for your selfe, who have oftentimes heard, that *To follow God*, and to obey Reason is all one, you ought to thinke, that the wiser sort, and such as have wit indeed, repute not the passage and change from childhood to mans estate, an absolute deliverance and freedome from commandement and subjection, but an exchange only of the commander: for that their life instead either of a mercenary hireling, or some Master bought with a peece of money, who was wont to governe it in their nonage and minority, taketh then a divine and heavenly guide to conduct it, even Reason: unto which they that yeeld themselves obeisant, are to be repured only free and at liberty. For they alone live as they would, who have

have learned to will that which they ſhould: whereas if our actions and affections both be diſordinate and not ruled by reaſon, the liberty of our free-will is ſmall, ſlender and feeble, yea, and intermingled for the moſt part with much repentance. Like as therefore among new Burgoviſes (who lately are enrolled Free Denizens to enjoy the Franchiſes and priviledges of ſome City) they that were meere aliens before, and ſtrangers new come from far and remote parts, find themſelves grieved at the firſt with many things that are done, yea, and complaine thereof: but ſuch as had been inhabitants there ſometime before they were made citizens, who partly by education were inured, and partly by cuſtome and converſing, familiarly acquainted with the laws and cuſtomes of the place, never thinke much, but can brooke well enough, and undergo with patience all charges and impoſitions laid upon them; So it behooveth that a young man ſhould a long time have been bred up and (as it were) halfe nurſed in Philoſophy, accuſtomed (I ſay) he ought to have been from the beginning with intermingling all that he learneth or heareth in his tender yeares, with Philoſophicall reaſons, that being thus made tractable, gentle, and familiar before hand, he might now betake himſelfe wholly and in good earneſt to Philoſophy: which alone is able to array and adorne young men with thoſe robes and ornaments of reaſon which are man-like indeed, and every way perfect. Moreover, I ſuppoſe you will be well pleaſed and content to give eare unto that which *Theophraſtus* hath written of hearing; which of all the five ſenſes given us by nature, preſenteth both the moſt and alſo the greateſt paſſions unto the mind. For there is no object of the eye, nothing that we taſte or touch that cauſeth ſuch extaſies, ſo violent troubles or ſudden frights, as thoſe which enter and pierce into the ſoule by the meanes of ſome noiſes, ſounds and voices, incident to our hearing. And albeit this ſenſe lie thus open and expoſed to paſſions, yet is it more fit to admit reaſon than ſuch affections: for many places there be and parts of the body that make way and give entrance unto vices to paſſe unto the ſoule: but the only handle (as I may ſo ſay) wherewith vertue may take hold of young men are their eares: provided alwaies, that they were keept cleane and neat at the firſt from all flattery, and defended againſt corrupt and lewd ſpeeches that they touch them not.

Good reaſon therefore had *Xenocrates* to give order that children ſhould have certaine antielets or bolſters deviſed to hang about their eares for their defence, rather than fencers and ſword-players: for that theſe are in danger only to have their eares ſpoyled with knocks or cuts by weapons: but the other, to have their manners corrupted and marred with naughty ſpeeches. Neither was it any part of *Xenocrates* his meaning, to deprive them altogether of hearing, and to commend deafeneſſe: but to admoniſh and exhort them ſo long to forbeare the hearing of evill words, and to take heed, untill other good ſayings, entertained and nouriſhed there, in long continuance of time by Philoſophy, had ſeiſed the place, and were well ſetled in that part which is moſt eaſie to be moved and perſwaded by ſpeech: where being once lodged, they might as good ſentinels and guards preſerve and defend the ſame. *Bias* verily, that ancient Sage, being commanded by King *Amaſis* to ſend unto him the beſt and worſt piece of a beaſt killed for ſacrifice, plucked forth the tongue only, and ſent it him; giving him thus much thereby to underſtand, That ſpeech is the cauſe both of moſt good, and alſo of greateſt harme. Many there be alſo, who ordinarily when they kiſſe little children both touch their eares withall, and alſo bid them do the like: inſinuating thus much covertly, by way of mirth and ſport, That they are to love thoſe who profit them and do them good by their eares. For this is certaine and evident that a young man deprived and debarred of hearing, being able to taſte and conceive reaſon, will not only become barren altogether of fruit, and put not ſo much as any buds and flowers at all, which may give ſome hope of vertue: but alſo contrariwiſe, will ſoon turne to vice, and ſend forth of his corrupt mind many wild and ſavage ſhoots, like as a ground neglected and untilled, beareth nothing but briers, brambles, and hurtfull weeds. For the motions and inclinations unto pleaſures, and the ſiniſter conceits and ſuſpitions of paines and travels (which are no ſtrangers to us iwis, entring in directly from without forth by themſelves, or elſe let in by evill ſuggeſtions, but inbred with us, and the naturall ſources of infinite vices and maladies) if a man ſuffer to run on end with the reines at large, whither by nature they would go, and not cut them off by ſage remonſtrances, or divert them another way, and thereby reforme the default of nature; ſurely there were not upon the face of the earth any wild beaſt but would be more tame and gentle than man. Foraſmuch as therefore the ſenſe of hearing bringeth unto young men ſo great profit, and no leſſe perill with it, I ſuppoſe it were well done if a man would eſtſoones both deviſe with himſelfe, and alſo diſcourſe with others, as touching the order and manner of hearing. Foraſmuch as we do ſee moſt men in this point to offend and erre, in that they exerciſe themſelves in ſpeaking before they were uſed to heare: ſuppoſing that good ſpeech requireth a kind of diſcipline, meditation, and practice ere it be learned: as for hearing though men uſe it without any art it makes no matter how, yet they may receive profit thereby as they thinke. And verily, albeit at Tennis play they that practice the feat thereof, learne to take the ball as it commeth, and alſo to ſtrike and ſend it from them againe, both at once, yet in the uſe of ſpeech it is otherwiſe: For to receive it well goeth before the utterance and delivery thereof: like as conception and retention of the ſeed, doth precede birth of the infant. It is ſaid, That the egges laid by foules, called wind-egges, as they proceed of imperfect and falſe conceptions, ſo they are the rudiments and beginnings of ſuch fruits as never will quicken and have life; even ſo, The ſpeeches that young men let fall, ſuch I

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meane as never knew how to heare, nor were wont to receive profit by hearing, are nothing elſe indeed but very wind: and as the Poet ſaith,

Words vaine, obſcure, and fooliſh every one,
Which under clouds ſoone vaniſh and be gone.

Certes if they would powre forth any liquor out of one veſſell into another, they are wont to encline and turne down the mouth of the one, ſo, as the ſaid liquor may paſſe into the receptorie without ſhedding any part thereof, leſt inſtead of an infuſion indeed there be an effuſion only and ſpilling of the ſame: and yet theſe men cannot learne to be attentive and give good eare unto others, ſo as nothing do eſcape them which is well and profitably delivered. But here is the greateſt folly and moſt ridiculous, that if they meet with one who can relate the order of a feaſt or great dinner, diſcourſe from point to point of a ſolemne ſhew or pompe, tell a tale of ſome dreame, or make report of a quarrell and brablement between him and another, they harken with great ſilence, bid him ſay on, and will miſſe never a circumſtance: Let another man draw them apart, to teach them ſome good and profitable leſſon, to exhort them to their duty, to admoniſh and tell them of a fault, to reprove them wherein they did amiſſe, or to appeaſe their mood when they be incholer, they cannot abide and indure him: for either they will ſet in hand to argue and refute him by arguments, contending and conteſting againſt that which hath been ſaid, (if they be able ſo to do:) or if they find themſelves too weake, they ſlink away, and run thither where they may heare ſome other vaine and fooliſh diſcourſes, deſirous to fill their eares (like naughty and rotten veſſels) with any thing rather than that which is good and neceſſary. They that would keep and order horſes well, teach them to have a good mouth, to reign light, and to obey the bit: even ſo, they that bring up children as they ought, make them obſequent and obeiſant to reaſon, by teaching them to heare much and ſpeake little. For *Spintharus* praiſing *Epaminondas* upon a time, gave out thus much of him; That he could hardly meet with another man who knew more than he, and ſpake leſſe. And it is commonly ſaid, that nature her ſelfe hath given to each of us but one tongue and two eares, becauſe we ought to heare more than we ſpeake. Now as ſilence and Taciturnity is every where and at all times a ſingular and ſure ornament of a young man; ſo eſpecially, if when he heareth another man to ſpeake he interrupt and trouble him not, nor bay and barke (as it were) at every word: but although he do not very well like of his ſpeech, yet hath patience and forbeareth, giving him leave to make an end: and when he hath finiſhed his ſpeech, ſetteth not upon him preſently, nor beginneth out of hand to confute him, but ſuffereth him to pauſe awhile, and as *Æſchynes* ſaith, giveth him ſome time to breath and bethink himſelf to ſee, if haply he think it good to adde any more to that which hath been delivered already, or change ſomewhat, or elſe retract and unſay ſomething: Whereas they that by and by cut a man off with contradictions, and neither hear, nor are well heard themſelves, but are ever replying upon other whiles they ſpeake, obſerve no decorum nor grace at all: but ſhew a very undecent and unſeemely behaviour. But he that is accuſtomed to heare patiently, and with a modeſt and ſober countenance, better conceiveth and reteineth the good things uttered, and withall hath more leiſure to marke, obſerve, and diſcerne that which is either unprofitable or falſe: He ſheweth himſelfe beſides to be a lover of the truth, and is not taken for a litigious quareller, a raſh wrangler, or a bitter brawler. And therefore, ſome there be who not unaptly ſay That we ought no leſſe, but rather more, to void out of the minds of young men that preſumption and fooliſh opinion which they have of their own ſelves, than to rid and exclude the wind and aire out of leather baggs or bladders wherewith they are puft and blown up, if we meane to infuſe and put any good thing into them: for otherwiſe, if they be ſtill full of that ſwelling wind of arrogancy and overweening of themſelves, they will never receive and admit any goodneſſe.

Moreover, envy accompanied with a maligne eye and ill will is good in no action whatſoever where it is preſent: but as it is an impediment and hinderance to all honeſt cauſes; ſo it is the worſt counſeller and aſſiſtant that he can have who would be an auditor, making all thoſe things that be profitable and for his benefit to ſeeme odious, unpleaſant, harſh to the eare, and hardly admitted; for that the nature of envious perſons is, to take more pleaſure in any thing elſe than in that which is well ſpoken. And verily, whoſoever repineth and is vexed at the heart to ſee others rich, beautifull or in authority, is only envious: for grieved he is at the welfare of others: but he that taketh diſcontentment in hearing a wiſe and ſententious ſpeech, is offended with the good of his own ſelfe: for, like as the light is a benefit to them that ſee; even ſo is ſpeech unto the hearers, if they will embrace and entertaine the ſame: As for thoſe kinds of envy which ariſe in regard of other things, there be ſome naughty paſſions and vitious conditions of the mind beſides that breed and ingender them: but that manner of envy, which is conceived againſt them that ſpeake excellently well, ſpringeth from a certaine importunate deſire of vaine glory, and unjuſt ambition, which will not ſuffer him that is ſo indiſpoſed to give eare and attend unto the words ſpoken, but troubleth, diſquieteth, and diſtracteth the mind and underſtanding: both to conſider at one inſtant his own ſtate and ſufficiency, whether it be inferiour to the conceit and eloquence of the ſpeaker: and alſo to regard and looke upon the countenance of other hearers, whether they take contentment and are in admiration of him that maketh the ſpeech: yea, and withall, if happily he be praiſed, the ſame mind is wonderfully galled and amazed, angry, and ready to fall out with all that be preſent, in caſe they approve his ſpeech with applauſe. Herewith it

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letteth slip also and rejecteth the matter and good sayings that were delivered already; for that the remembrance thereof is unsavoury and unpleasant: and still he is disquieted and worketh not what to do, hearing out the rest with feare and trembling, lest happily they should be better than the former, never so desirous that the speakers should hasten to an end and have done, as when they discourse and speake best. Now when the Sermon is ended, and the auditory dissolved: what doth this envious spirit then? Not ruminate, be you sure, nor consider of the reasons and matter delivered: but he stirreth the affections and opinions straightwaies, and gathereth voices (as it were in a consistory) of the audience. If he meet with any that give out good words to the praise of the Preacher, them he avoideth and fleeth from, as if he were in a furious fit of madnesse: hapneth he upon such as find fault, and be ready to misconstrue and pervert the words that were spoken to the worst sense: these are they whom he loveth alife, to them he runneth, and with them he sorteth and keepeth company: But say that he findeth none of that disposition, so as he cannot wrest any words to a wrong construction, then he falleth to make comparisons, and to set against him others younger than he: who of the same theame have discoursed better, with more plausible utterance and greater force of eloquence: he never ceaseth nor giveth over corrupting, misinterpreting, and disgracing the whole speech, untill he have made the same altogether unprofitable and without any edification at all to his own selfe. It behoveth therefore, that he who desireth to heare, take truce (for the time) with ambition: to the end that he may give eare with patience and mildnesse unto him that maketh an oration or sermon, and carry himselfe no otherwise than if he were admitted to some sacred and festivall banket, or an invited guest to the first fruits of a solemne sacrifice; praising his eloquence when he hath spoken well and sufficiently to the point in any matter, accepting favourably, and in best part, his good will, to deliver and communicate to others such things as he knew, and to perswade his hearers with those reasons and motives which had induced and perswaded himselfe. Neither must our auditors make this reckoning and conclusion, That whatsoever hath been singularly well delivered by the speaker, ought to be ascribed to chance and fortune, as if he had let fall his words at a venture: but impute the same to his diligence, labour, and art: yea, and he ought to imitate the same with a kind of zeale and admiration. But whereas he hath faulted and done amisse, it is the part of an hearer to bend his mind, and consider well and circumspectly, what might the cause and occasion be of such errour: For like as (according to *Xenophon*) good housholders know how to make profit and use, as well of their enemies as their friends; even so they that be vigilant and attentive hearers take good, not only by them that speake well, but by those also that misse and faile of their purpose: for barren, triviall, and stale invention; improper, vaine, and unsignificant words; forced, and foolish figures; abrupt, fond, and unseemly breakings forth with joy to some praise, and such like impertinences or defects, which often times befall unto them that speake in publike place, are sooner espied by us that are hearers, than observed by themselves who are the speakers. And therefore we are to transfer the inquisition and correction of any such fault, from them to our selves, by examining whether we also may not fault likewise before we be aware? For there is nothing in the world more easie than for a man to blame and reprehend his neighbour: but such a reprehension verily is vaine and unprofitable, unlesse it have a reference to correct and amend the like errours in himselfe. In which regard every one ought to be ready in this case, according to the advertisement of *Plato*, to say unto himselfe, Am not I also such a one? Or, do not I the semblable otherwhiles? For even as we see our own eyes shining within the ball or apple of our neighbours eye, so we ought by the forme and manner of other mens orations to take the patterne and representation of our own; to the end that we be not too forward and bold in despising others, but may more carefully take heed to our selves when we likewise come to speake. To this purpose also it would do very well to make a kind of conference and comparison in this manner; Namely, to retire our selves apart when we have heard one make an oration, and to take in hand some points which we thinke had not been well and sufficiently handled, and then to assay either to supply that which was defective in some, or to correct what was amisse in others: or else to vary the same matter in other words, or at least-wise to discourse altogether thereof with new reasons and arguments; like as *Plato* himselfe did upon the oration of *Lysias*. For, I assure you, no hard matter it is, but very easie to contradict the oration and reason by another pronounced; mary to set a better by it, that is a peece of work right hard and difficult. Much like, as when a certaine Lacedemonian heard that *Philip* King of *Macedon* had demolished and razed the City *Olynthus*, Hath he so? quoth he, But he is not able to set up such another. Now when as we shall see that in treating of the same subject and argument, there is no great difference between our own doings and other mens before us, and that we have not far excelled them, we shall be reclaimed much from the contempt of others, and quickly represse and stay our own presumptuous pride and selfe-love seeing it thus checked by this triall and comparison. And verily, to admire other mens doings, as it is a thing adverse and opposite to despising, so it is a sign of a milder nature, and more enclined to indifferency and equity. But even herein also there would be no lesse heed taken (if not more) than in the contempt beforesaid: for as they which are so presumptuous, bold, and given so much to dispraise and despise others, receive lesse good and smaller profit by hearing; so the simple and harmelesse sort, addicted overmuch to others, and having them in admiration, are more subject to take harme and hurt thereby: verifying this sentence of *Heraclitus*,

A foolish sot astonied is anone
At all he heares, or seeth done.

As for the praises therefore of him that speaketh, we ought favourably and of course without great affectation to passe them out of our mouths: in giving credit unto their reasons and arguments we are to be more wary and circumspect: and as touching the phrase, utterance, and action of those that exercise to make speeches, we must both see and heare the same with a single heart and a kind affection: As for the utility and truth of those matters which are delivered, we should examine and weigh the same exactly and with more severity of judgement. Thus we who be hearers shall avoid the suspitions of evill will and hatred, and they againe that are speakers shall do us no harme. For oftentimes it falleth out that upon a speciall fansie and good liking unto those that preach unto us, we take lesse heed to our selves; and by our credulity admit and embrace from their lips many false and erronious opinions. The Lacedæmonian rulers and Lords of the Councell of State, upon a time liking well of the good advice and opinion of a person who was an ill liver, caused the same to be delivered openly by another of approved life and good reputation: wherein they did very wisely, and as prudent politicians, to accustome the people for to affect the behaviour and honest carriage of their counsellors, rather than to respect their words only. But in Philosophy it is otherwise: For we must lay aside the reputation of the man who hath in publike place spoken his mind: and examine the matter apart by it selfe: For that, like as in war (we say) there be many false alarmes: so also in an auditory there passe as many vanities: The goodly gray beard and hoary head of the speaker, his solemne gesture and composing of his countenance, his grave eye-brows, his glorious words in behalfe of himselfe: but above all, the acclamations, the applause and clapping of hands, the leaping and shouting of the standers by and those that are present in place, are enough otherwhiles to trouble and astonish the spirits of a young hearer, who is not well acquainted with such matters, and carry him away perforce as it were with a streame: Over and besides, there is in the very stile and speech it selfe a secret power able to beguile and deceive a young novice: namely, if it run round away, smooth, and pleasant, and if withall there be a certaine affected gravity, and artificiall port and loftinesse, to set out and grace the matter. And even as they that play upon the pipe, be it cornet, recorder of fife, fault many times in musicke, and are not perceived by the hearers: so a brave and elegant tongue, a copious and gallant oration, dazeleth the wits of the hearer, so as he cannot judge soundly of the matter in hand. *Melanthus* being demanded upon a time, what he thought of a Tragedy of *Diogenes*: I could not see it (quoth he) for so many words wherewith it was choaked up. But the Orations and declamations for the most part of these Sophisters, who make shew of their eloquence, not only have their sentences covered (as it were) with vailes and curtaines of words, but that which more is, they themselves do dulce their voice by the means of (I wot not what) devised notes, soft sounds, exquisite and musicall accents in their pronunciation, so as they ravish the wits of the hearers, and transport them beside themselves: leading and carrying them which way they list: and thus for a certaine little vaine pleasure that they give, receive againe applause and glory much more vaine: Insomuch, as that befalleth properly unto them which by report *Dionysius* answered upon a time: who seemed to promise unto a famous minstrell for his excellent play in an open Theatre, to reward him with great gifts, gave him in the end just nothing, but said, he had recompensed him sufficiently already: For look (quoth he) how much pleasure I have received from thee by thy song and minstrelsey, so much contentment and joy thou hast had from me by hoping for some great reward. And verily such recompence as this have those Sophisters and great Oratours at their hearers hands: For admired they are so long as they sit in their chaire, and give delight unto their auditory: No sooner is their speech ended, but gone is the pleasure of the one, and the glory of the other. Thus the Auditors spend their time, and the speakers employ their whole life in vaine. For this cause it behoveth a young hearer to sequester and set aside the ranke superfluity of words, and to seeke after the fruit it selfe: and herein not to imitate women that plait and make garlands of flowers, but to follow the Bees: For those women laying for, and choosing faire flowers and odoriferous herbs, twist, plat, and compose them so, as they make thereof a peece of worke (I must needs say) pleasant to the senses; but fruitlesse altogether, and not lasting above one day: whereas the Bees flying oftentimes over and over the meadows full of violets, Roses, and Crowtoes, light at length upon Thyme, an hearbe of a most strong sent, and quick taste, and there settle,

Intending then great paines to take
The yellow honey for to make.

And when they have gathered from them some profitable juyce or liquor to serve their turne, they flye away unto their proper worke and businesse: Semblably ought an auditor who is studious of skill and knowledge, and hath his mind and understanding free from passions, to let passe affected, flourishing, and superfluous words, yea, and such matters also as be fit for the Stage and Theatre, reputing them to be food meet for drone Bees (I meane Sophisters) and nothing good for honey: and rather with diligence and attentive heed to sound the very depth and profound intention of the speaker, for to draw that which is good and profitable: remembring eftsoones, that he is not come thither as to a Theatre, either to see sports and pastimes, or to heare musick and Poeticall fables, but into a schoole and auditory, for to learne how to amend and reforme his life by the rule

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he kindly accepted, and was much taken with it at the first sight, but when in time he had made it so tame and gentle, that it would come when he called, and follow him wheresoever he went, and could endure the Noise and Tumult of the Camp; knowing well that Barbarous People are naturally prone to Superstition, by Degrees he gave out that it was inspired with a Deity, that it was given him by the Goddess *Diana*, that it discovered to him hidden Mysteries, and revealed to him what was to come to pass hereafter: To which also he added these further Contrivances; if he had received at any time private Intelligence, that the Enemies had made an Incursion into those Provinces which were under his Command, or had sollicited any City to revolt, he pretended that the Hind had informed him of it in his sleeep, and charged him to keep his Forces in readiness; or if otherwise he had notice that any of the Commanders under him had got a Victory, he would hide the Messengers, and bring forth the Hind crowned with flowers, for joy of the good News that was to come, and would encourage them to Rejoyce and Sacrifice to the Gods for the good account they should soon receive of their Prosperous Success, and by those Inventions filling their Heads

Heads with ſtrange Imaginations, and the thoughts of Miracles, he brought them to be more Tractable and Obedient in all things; for now they thought themſelves no longer to be led by a Stranger, but rather conducted by a *Hero*, or one nearly related to a God. Conſidering alſo that his Power daily encreaſed, contrary to all Humane Reaſon or Probability. For with two thouſand five hundred, which for Honour's ſake he called *Romans*, joyned with ſeven Hundred *Africans*, who landed with him when he firſt entred *Luſitania*, together with four thouſand Foot, and ſeven Hundred Horſe, he made War with four *Roman* Generals, who commanded a Hundred and twenty Thouſand Foot, ſix thouſand Horſe, two thouſand Archers and Slingers, and Cities innumerable; whereas at the firſt he had not above twenty Cities in all; and from this weak and ſlender beginning, he became afterwards ſo conſiderable, that he took many good Cities, and overcame Great and Powerful Countries. Of the *Roman* Commanders which were ſent againſt him, he overthrew *Cotta* in a Sea-fight, in the Channel near the

Mellaria, *now* Tariffa, *between* Tratalgar *and* Gibralter, *in the Streights mouth.* Cape Spartel, *and* Trafalgar, Abyla, *and* Gibralter, *are places well known to Seamen that Sail into the* Mediterranean *Sea.*

City of *Mellaria*, he routed *Phidius* chief Commander of *Hiſpania Bætica*, and ſlew two thouſand *Romans* near the Banks of the River *Bætis*. *Domitius* and *Lucius Manlius* Proconſul of another Province of *Spain*, were overthrown in a ſet Battle by one of his Lieutenants, he ſlew *Toranius* a Commander ſent againſt him by *Metellus* with a great Force, and deſtroyed his whole Army; and *Metellus*, the greateſt General in thoſe Times, and a Perſon of the moſt approved Experience of any *Roman* then living, was often ſupplanted and circumvented by him, and reduced to ſuch extremities, that he was forced to call *Lucius Lollius* to his Aſſiſtance out of *Gallia Narbonenſis*; and *Rome* it ſelf being alarmed and terrified, parted with her beloved *Pompey* the Great, and ſent him into *Spain* in all haſte with the moſt conſiderable Forces of the *Roman* Empire. Nor did *Metellus* know which way to turn himſelf, having to do with a Man of undaunted Boldneſs and Sagacity, who was continually moleſting him, and yet could not be brought to a ſet Battle, but by the ſwiftneſs and dexterity of his *Spaniſh* Soldiery he was able to change his Station, and to caſt his Army into all Forms and Figures, to lead them on, and bring them off again, and wind himſelf out of all

Pompey ſent againſt Sertorius.

Straits

Straits and Difficulties; and although *Metellus* had great Experience in conducting entire well appointed Legions, and was an excellent Commander of Soldiers arm'd with heavy Armour, and drawn up in due Order into a ſtanding Phalanx able to encounter the Enemy hand to hand, and overpower them by clear Force, yet he was no way able to climb up ſteep Hills, and be continually upon the Purſuit of a ſwift Enemy, or attend the ſpeedy Marches of Men that were accuſtom'd to range about the Mountains, to endure Hunger and Thirſt, and to live expos'd to the Wind and Weather without Fire or Covering; beſides that, *Metellus* being now in Years, and having been formerly engag'd in many Fights and dangerous Conflicts, he was now inclinable to lead a more remiſs, eaſie and voluptuous Life, and was the leſs able to contend with *Sertorius*, who was in the Flower and Strength of his Youth, full of Spirit and Life, and had a Body wonderfully fitted for War, being ſtrong, active and temperate, continually accuſtom'd to endure hard Labour, to take long, tedious Journies, to paſs many Nights together without Sleep, to eat little, and to be ſatisfy'd with very coarſe Fare, and was never ſtain'd with the leaſt Exceſs in Wine, even when he was moſt at Leiſure, but what time

time he had to ſpare, he ſpent in hunting, and riding into all Parts; whereby he underſtood the Courſe of the Country, the Situation of all Places, and where there were Paſſages, and where not; with this Advantage to himſelf, that when he could not maintain the Fight, he knew which way to fly and eſcape, and where certainly to enſnare and encompaſs his Enemy, when Victory accompany'd his Arms; inſomuch that thoſe with *Metellus* ſuffer'd all Inconveniences like Men that were conquer'd, although he earneſtly deſir'd to fight, and *Sertorius* (though he refus'd the Field) reap'd all the Advantages of a Conqueror; for he hindred them from Foraging, and cut off all Proviſion; if they proceeded forward, he ſtop'd their March; if they ſtay'd in any Place and encamp'd, he continually moleſted and alarm'd them; if they beſieg'd any Town, he preſently appear'd and beſieg'd them again, and reduc'd them to great Extremities for want of neceſſaries, whereby he weary'd out the *Roman* Army, and reduc'd them to ſo low and deſpairing a Condition, that when *Sertorius* challeng'd *Metellus* to fight ſingly with him, they commended him, and cry'd out, It was a fair Offer for a *Roman* to fight againſt a *Roman*, and a General againſt a General; and when *Metellus* refus'd

Sertorius *challenges* Metellus.

fus'd the Challenge, they reproach'd him, but *Metellus* derided and contemn'd them, in doing which he did well; for as *Theophraſtus* obſerves, a General ſhould dye like a General, and not like a Gladiator.

Metellus perceiving that the City of the *Lagobrites*, which gave great Aſſiſtance to *Sertorius*, might eaſily be taken for want of Water, (there being but one Well within the Walls) and that whoſoever beſieg'd the Place, might make himſelf Maſter of the Springs and Fountains in the Suburbs, he hop'd to force the Town in two days time, there being no more Water, and gave Command to his Soldiers to take five days Proviſions only; but *Sertorius* reſolving to ſend ſpeedy Relief, order'd two Thouſand Veſſels to be fill'd with Water, and a good Reward for the Carriage of every Veſſel, and many *Spaniards* and *Moors* undertaking the Work, he choſe out thoſe who were the ſtrongeſt and ſwifteſt of Foot, and ſent them through the Mountains, with Order, that when they had deliver'd the Water, they ſhould remove and convey away, privately all thoſe who would be leaſt ſerviceable in the Siege, that there might be Water ſufficient for the Defendants. As ſoon as *Metellus* underſtood this, he was highly diſturb'd, and when he had ſpent moſt part of the neceſſary Proviſions for his

Sertorius *relieves the City of the* Lagobrites.

his Army, he ſent out *Aquinus* with ſix Thouſand Soldiers to fetch in freſh Supplies; but *Sertorius* having Notice of it, laid an Ambuſh for him, and having ſent out before-hand three Thouſand Men, which he plac'd within a ſhady Vally, in a Channel which had been made hollow by the rapid fall of Water from the Hills, they ſet upon the Rear of *Aquinus* in his Return, while *Sertorius* charging him in the Front, deſtroy'd part of his Army, and took the reſt Priſoners, *Aquinus* only eſcaping, after he had been thrown from his Horſe, and loſt his Armour, and *Metellus* being forc'd ſhamefully to raiſe the Siege, became the Laughter and Contempt of the *Spaniards*, and *Sertorius* the Object of their Eſteem, Love and Admiration. He was alſo highly honour'd for his inſtituting a right Diſcipline, and good Order amongſt them; for he alter'd their furious ſavage Manner of Fighting, and brought them to make uſe of the *Roman* Armour, taught them to keep their Ranks, and follow their Enſigns, and out of a confus'd Number of Thieves and Robbers, he conſtituted a regular well-diſciplin'd Army; he afterwards beſtow'd Silver and Gold upon them liberally, to gild and adorn their Helmets, he caus'd their Shields to be wrought, and engrav'd with various Figures and Deſigns, he

he brought them into the Mode of wearing flower'd and richly embroider'd Cloaths, and by courting them, by paying their Expences, by converſing familiarly with them, he won the Hearts of all, and led them whither he pleas'd; but that which delighted them moſt, was the Care that he took of their Children, when he ſent for all the Noblemen's Sons in thoſe Parts, and plac'd them in the great City of *Oſca*, where he appointed Maſters to inſtruct them in the *Grecian* and *Roman* Learning, that when they came to be Men they might be fitted to ſhare with him in Authority, and in the Government of the Commonwealth, although under this Pretence of their better Education, he really made them Hoſtages and Sureties for their Country; however their Fathers were wonderfully pleas'd to ſee their Children going daily to the Schools in good Order, handſomely dreſs'd in fine long Garments edg'd with Purple, and that *Sertorius* paid a Sallary for their Learning; examin'd them often, diſtributed Rewards to the moſt deſerving, and gave them Jewels to hang about their Necks, and golden Boſſes, which the *Romans* call'd *Bullæ*. Oſca Huesca.

There being a Cuſtom in *Spain*, That when a great Commander was ſlain in Battle, thoſe who attended his Perſon fought it Sertorius *infinitely belov'd by the* Spaniards.

it out till they all dy'd with him, which the Inhabitants of thoſe Countries call'd an Offering, or a pouring out of Blood in Sacrifice. There were few Commanders that had any conſiderable Guard or Number of Attendants; but *Sertorius* had many Thouſands who offer'd up themſelves, and vow'd to ſacrifice their Lives, and ſpend their Bloods with his; and it is reported that when his Army was defeated near to a City in *Spain*, and the Enemy preſs'd hard upon them, the *Spaniards* took no Care for themſelves, but being totally ſollicitous to ſave *Sertorius*, they took him upon their Shoulders, and paſs'd him from one to another, till they carry'd him into the City, and when they had thus plac'd their General in Safety, every one provided afterwards for his own Security.

The Roman *Soldiers with* Perpenna *deſire to be under his Command.*

Nor were the *Spaniards* alone ambitious to ſerve him, but the *Roman* Soldiers alſo that came out of *Italy* were impatient to be under his Command; and when *Perpenna*, who was of the ſame Faction with *Sertorius*, came into *Spain* with great Riches, and a good Army, and deſign'd to make War againſt *Metellus* in a diſtinct Body by himſelf, his own Soldiers oppos'd it, and diſcours'd continually of the great Fame and Merit of *Sertorius*; which was no ſmall Mortification to *Perpenna*, who was

was puffed up with the Grandeur of his Family and his Riches. When they afterwards underſtood alſo that *Pompey* the Great had paſs'd the *Pyrenæans*, they took up their Arms, laid hold on their Enſigns, call'd upon *Perpenna* to lead them to *Sertorius*, and threatned him, that if he refus'd it, they would go and place themſelves under a Commander who was ſufficiently able to defend himſelf and thoſe that ſerv'd him, which forc'd *Perpenna* to yield to their Deſires, who immediately joyning with *Sertorius*, added to his Army three and fifty Cohorts; and when all the Cities on this ſide of the River *Iberus* alſo united their Forces together under his Command, his Army grew great, for they flock'd together, and flow'd in upon him from all Quarters; but when they continually cry'd out to charge the Enemy, and were impatient of Delay, their unexperienc'd Raſhneſs was troubleſome to *Sertorius*, who at firſt ſtrove to reſtrain them with Reaſon and good Counſel, but when he perceiv'd them refractory and unſeaſonably violent, he gave way to their impetuous Deſires, and permitted them to engage with the Enemy, in ſuch ſort, that being repuls'd, yet not totally routed, he hop'd they would become more obedient to his Commands for the future; which happ'ning as he

Perpenna *joyns his Forces with* Sertorius.

he conjectur'd, he ſoon reſcu'd them, and brought them ſafe into his Camp; and after a few days being willing to encourage them again, when he had call'd all his Army together, he caus'd two Horſes to be brought into the Field, one an old, feeble, lean Jade, the other a luſty ſtrong Horſe, with a very fair, thick, long Tail; near to the lean Jade he plac'd a tall ſtrong Man, and near to the ſtrong young Horſe a weak, little, deſpicable Fellow to look upon, and at a Sign given, the ſtrong Man took hold of the weak Horſe's Tayl with both his Hands, and drew it to him with his whole Force, as if he would preſently pull it off; the other little weak Fellow in the mean time fell to plucking off Hair by Hair from the great Horſe's Tayl; and when the ſtrong Man had given Trouble enough to himſelf in vain, and ſufficient Divertiſement to the Company, and had given over his Intent, whilſt the weak pitiful Wretch in a ſhort Time and with little Pains had left never a Hair on the great Horſe's Tail. *Sertorius* roſe up, and ſpake to his Army after this Manner, You ſee, Fellow-Soldiers, that Ingenuity is greater than Force, and Perſeverance more prevailing than Violence. Many things which cannot be overcome when they are together, do yield themſelves up by Degrees when they are ſeparated,

ted, Aſſiduity and continued Diligence is reſiſtleſs, and in time overthrows and deſtroys the greateſt Powers whatever; Time being the favourable Friend and Aſſiſtant of thoſe, who through mature Judgment underſtand aright how to take their beſt Advantages; and the deſtructive Enemy of thoſe who are unſeaſonably urging and preſſing forward; with ſuch like Inventions and Diſcourſes, wherewith he frequently entertained them, he bridled the raſh fierceneſs of the Barbarous People, and taught them to attend and to watch for their beſt Opportunities of Fighting.

His Stratagem againſt the Characitanians.

But of all his Remarkable Exploits, and wonderful Stratagems in War, none raiſed greater Admiration in all, than that which he put in practice againſt the *Characitanians*; theſe are a People beyond the River *Tagus*, who inhabited neither Cities nor Towns, but liv'd in a vaſt high Hill, within the deep Dens and Caves of the Rocks, the Mouths of which open all towards the North, the Country below it is a clayiſh, chalky Soyl, and being alſo light, full of Pores, and ſpungy, it is apt to be crummed and broken into Powder, and is not firm enough to bear any one that treads upon it, and if you touch it in the leaſt it flies about like Aſhes, or unſlaked

Lime. In any danger of War, these People descend into their Caves, and carrying in their Booty and Prey along with them, are free from all fear, and think themselves invincible. And when *Sertorius* being at some distance from *Metellus*, had placed his Camp near this Hill, they slighted and despised him, imagining that he retired into these Parts being overthrown by the *Romans*; and whether out of Anger, and just Resentment, or out of his unwillingness to be thought to fly from his Enemies, he caused himself to carried thither early in the Morning to view the situtation of the Place; but finding there was no way to come at it, as he rode about threatning them in vain, and troubled in his Mind, he took notice that the Wind raised the dust, and carried it up towards the Caves of the *Characitanians*, the Mouths of which, as we said before, opened towards the North; and the Northerly Winds, which some call *Cæcias*, prevailing most in those Parts, engendred out of the moist Morish Plains, or the Mountains covered with Snow, and in the Heat of Summer being supplied and encreased by the Relaxation and Melting of the Ice on the Peaks of the Northern Hills, it blows a delightful fresh Gale, which recreates the *Characitanians*, and refreshes

Cæcias is the North-East wind or the North-East and by East.

refreſhes their Cattle all the Day long. *Sertorius* conſidering well all Circumſtances, wherein either the Information of the Inhabitants, or his own Experience had inſtructed him, commanded his Soldiers to ſhovel up a great Quantity of this light duſty Earth, to heap it up together, and make a Mount of it, over againſt the Hill wherein theſe Barbarous People reſided, who imagining that all this Preparation was for the Raiſing of a Fort, or for the making of a Bulwark againſt them, they looked upon it as a Deſign moſt worthy to be laughed at; however he continued the Work till the Evening, and brought his Soldiers back into their Camp. The next Morning when a gentle Breeze aroſe, and moved the lighteſt Parts of the Earth, and diſperſed it about as the Chaff before the Wind, and when the Sun coming to be higher, the bluſtering Northerly Wind had covered the Hills with the duſt, the Soldiers turned this new Mount of Earth over and over, and brake the Clots of Clay in Pieces, whilſt others on Horſeback rode through it backward and forward, and raiſed a Cloud of duſt, which being committed to the Wind, was blown into the Dwellings of the *Characitanians*, the entrances into which were all towards the

North, and there being no other Vent or Paſſage, than that through which bluſtering *Cæcias* ruſhed in upon them, together with all the powdered Earth and Duſt, toſſed and blown about, it quickly blinded their Eyes, and filled their Lungs, and cauſing a Difficulty of Breathing, choak'd them up, whilſt they ſtrove to draw in the rough harſh Air mingled with ſtreams of Duſt; nor were they able with great hardſhip to hold out above two Days, but yielded up themſelves on the third. This Succeſs added not ſo much to the Strengh and Power of *Sertorius*, as it encreaſed his Glory and Renown, in letting the World ſee that he was able to conquer thoſe Places by Art, and by the Strength of his Brain, which were impregnable and never to be taken by the Force of Arms. He was continually Succeſsful during the whole War againſt *Metellus*, who by Reaſon of his Age and his ſlow Temper was not able to reſiſt the active Boldneſs and Bravery of *Sertorius*, who commanded a light Army more like a Band of Robbers than a due eſtabliſhed Militia. When *Pompey* alſo had paſſed over the *Pyreneans*, and placed his Camp near him, where both of them gave their utmoſt Proofs of their Gallantry and Skill in War, both in Receiving and Attacking one

one another, *Sertorius* far ſurpaſſing him, either in defending himſelf, or countermining the Deſigns of his Enemies, his fame was then highly celebrated even in *Rome* it ſelf, for the moſt terrible Warriour, and the moſt expert Commander of his Time. For conſidering that the Renown of *Pompey* was not ſmall, who had already won much Honour by his Proweſs and Magnanimity in the Wars of *Sylla*, from whom he received the Title of *Magnus*, and was called *Pompey* the Great; and who had aſcended to the Honour of a Triumph before the Hairs were grown on his Face, and many Cities which were under *Sertorius* had an eareſt Deſire to Revolt, when they were deterred from it by that great Action, amongſt others, which he performed near the City of *Lauron*, contrary to the Expectation of all.

The Siege of Lauron.

As ſoon as *Sertorius* had laid ſiege to *Lauron*, *Pompey* came with his whole Army to relieve it, and there being a Hill near the City very advantagiouſly ſeated, they both made haſte to take it. But *Sertorius* prevented him, and took poſſeſſion of it firſt, and *Pompey* having drawn down his Forces, was not ſorry that it had thus ſucceeded, for he imagined that he had hereby encloſed his

Enemy betweeen his own Army and the City, and ſent in a Meſſenger to the Citizens of *Lauron*, to bid them be of good Courage, and to come upon their Walls, where they might ſee their Beſieger Beſieged. *Sertorius* perceiving their Intentions, ſmiled, and told them, he would now teach *Sylla*'s Scholar (for ſo he called *Pompey* in deriſion) that it was the Part of a General to look as well behind him as before him, and at the ſame time ſhewed them ſix thouſand Soldiers which he had left in his former Camp, from whence he marched out to take the Hill, where if *Pompey* ſhould aſſault him, they might fall upon his Rear. *Pompey* diſcovered this too late, and not daring to give Battle, for fear of being encompaſſed in on every aſide, and yet being aſhamed to leave his Friends and Confederates in extream Danger, was forced to ſit ſtill and ſee them ruined before his Face; for the Beſieged deſpaired of Relief, and delivered up themſelves to *Sertorius*, who ſpared their Lives, and granted them their Liberties, but burnt their City, not out of Anger or Cruelty; for of all Commanders that ever were, *Sertorius* ſeems leaſt of all to have indulged theſe Paſſions, but only for the greater Shame and Confuſion of the Admirers of *Pompey*, and that it might be reported among the *Spaniards*,

Sertorius burns the City of Lauron in the ſight of Pompey the Great who is not able to relieve it.

Spaniards, that the Fire which burnt down his Confederates, tho' he was ſo near as to be well warm'd at it, was not able to raiſe heat enough in him to make him dare to relieve them.

Sertorius ſuſtained ſome Loſſes in theſe Wars, but he always defended thoſe with him, and maintain'd himſelf Invincible, and it was by other Commanders under him that he ſuffer'd, and he was more admir'd for being able to repair his Loſſes, for ſhewing himſelf brave in danger, for recovering the Victory, when the Field ſeem'd already to be loſt, than the *Roman* Generals againſt him for gaining theſe Advantages: As at the Battle of *Sucro* againſt *Pompey*, and at the Battel near *Turia*, againſt him and *Metellus* together. It is reported that the Battle near the City of *Sucro* was fought through the Impatience of *Pompey*, leſt that *Metellus* ſhould ſhare with him in the Victory, and thro' the willingneſs of *Sertorius* to fight with him before the Arrival of *Metellus*: However *Sertorius* delay'd the time till the Evening, conſidering that the darkneſs of the Night would be a great diſadvantage to his Enemies, either Flying, or Purſuing, who were meer Strangers, and had no knowledge of the Country. When the fight began, it happened that *Sertorius* was not placed directly againſt *Pompey*, but againſt *Afranius*, who had Command of

the Left Wing of the *Roman* Army, as he commanded the Right Wing of his own; but when he underſtood that his Left Wing began to give way, and yield to the furious Aſſaults of *Pompey*, he committed the care of his Right Wing to other Commanders, and made haſte to relieve thoſe in diſtreſs, and rallying ſome that were flying, and encouraging others that ſtill kept their Ranks, he renewed the Fight, and ſet upon them with that Force, that he routed the Enemy, and brought *Pompey*, who was purſuing, into great danger of his Life; for after being wounded and thrown from his Horſe, he eſcaped unexpectedly; for the *Africans* with *Sertorius* who took *Pompey*'s Horſe, ſet out with Gold, and covered with rich Trappings, fell out with one another, and upon the dividing of the Spoyl, gave over the Purſuit. *Afranius* in the mean time, as ſoon as *Sertorius* had left his Right Wing to aſſiſt the other part of his Army, overthrew all that oppoſed him, and purſued them to their Camp, fell in with them, and plunder'd them till it was dark Night; knowing nothing of *Pompey's* Overthrow, nor being able to reſtrain his Soldiers from Pillaging. When *Sertorius* returning with Victory fell upon the Forces of *Afranius*, which were in Diſorder, and ſlew great Numbers

Pompey *in great danger, wounded, and thrown from his Horſe.*

Sertorius *overthrows* Afranius.

Numbers of them; and the next Morning came into the Field again, well arm'd, and offer'd Battle, but perceiving that *Metellus* was near, he drew off, and return'd to his Camp, ſaying, If this old Woman had not been here, I would have whipp'd that Boy ſoundly, and ſent him to *Rome*.

Sertorius being much concern'd that his white Hind could no where be found; whereby he was deſtitute of an admirable Contrivance, both to amuſe and encourage the barbarous People, at a time when he moſt ſtood in need of it; ſome of his Men wandring in the Night chanc'd to meet her, and knowing her by her Colour, took her; to whom *Sertorius* promis'd a good Reward, if they would tell no one of it; and preſently ſhut her up; a few days after he appear'd in publick with a very chearful Look, and declar'd to the chief Nobility of the Countrey that the Gods had foretold him in a Dream that ſome great good Fortune ſhould ſuddenly attend him; and being ſet on the Tribunal to anſwer the Petitions of thoſe who apply'd themſelves to him: The Keepers of the Hind let her looſe, and ſhe no ſooner eſpy'd *Sertorius*, but ſhe ran leaping with great Joy to his Feet, laid her Head upon his Lap, and lick'd his Hands as ſhe formerly us'd to do, and *Sertorius* ſtroaking her, and making

making much of her again, with that Tenderneſs that the Tears ſtood in his Eyes, all that were preſent were immediately fill'd with Wonder and Aſtoniſhment, and afterwards accompanying him to his Houſe with reſpectful Congratulations, and loud Shouts for Joy, they look'd upon him as a Perſon above the Rank of Mortal Men, as one that was influenc'd from above; and that was highly belov'd by the Gods, and being hereby mightily encourag'd, they conceiv'd far better Hopes for the future.

He fights with the Romans *in the Territories of the* Saguntines.

When he had reduc'd his Enemies to the laſt Extremity for want of Proviſion, he was forc'd to give them Battle (in the Plains near *Saguntum*) to hinder them from foraging, and plundring the Country, where both Parties fought gloriouſly, and *Memmius*, the greateſt Commander in *Pompey*'s Army, was ſlain in the Heat of the Battle; but *Sertorius* overthrew all before him, and with great Slaughter of his Enemies preſs'd forward towards *Metellus*. This old Commander making a ſtout Reſiſtance, beyond what could be expected from one of his Years, was wounded with a Lance, which ſtruck Amazement into all that ſaw it, or heard it, and fill'd the *Roman* Soldiers Hearts with Sorrow and with Shame, to be thought to have left their General in Diſtreſs; but at the ſame time.

Memmius *ſlain.*

Metellus *wounded.*

time it provoking them to Revenge and Fury againſt their Enemies, they ſoon cover'd *Metellus* with their Shields, and brought him off in Safety, and then valiantly repuls'd the *Spaniards*, whereby Victory chang'd ſides, and *Sertorius*, that he might afford a more ſecure Retreat to his Army, and that more Forces might more eaſily be rais'd, retir'd into a ſtrong City in the Mountains; and though it was the leaſt of his Intention to ſuſtain a long Seige, yet he began to repair the Walls, and to fortifie the Gates, whereby he deluded his Enemies, who came and ſet down before the Town, hoping to take it without much Reſiſtance; and gave over the Purſuit of the *Spaniards*, affording them Opportunity to gather together again, and to raiſe new Forces for *Sertorius*, to which Purpoſe he had ſent Commanders to all their Cities, with Orders when they had ſufficiently encreas'd their Numbers, to ſend him word of it, which News he no ſooner receiv'd, but he ſally'd out and forced his way through his Enemies, and eaſily joyn'd with the reſt of his Army, and having receiv'd this conſiderable Re-inforcement, he ſet upon the *Romans* again, and by fiercely aſſaulting them, by alarming them on all ſides; by enſnaring, circumventing, and laying Ambuſhes for them; he

He cuts off all Provision from the Roman Army both by Sea and Land.

he cut off all Provisions by Land, while with his Ships of War, and Pyratical Vessels, he kept all the Coast in awe, and hindred their Recruits by Sea, whereby he forc'd the *Roman* Generals to dislodge, and to separate from one another: *Metellus* departed into *Gallia*, and *Pompey* winter'd among the *Baccæans*, in a wretched Condition, where being in extreme want of Money, he wrote a lamentable Letter to the Senate, to let them know that if they did not speedily supply him, he must draw off his Army; for he had already spent his own Estate in the Defence of *Italy*. To these Extremities the chiefest and the most powerful Commanders of the Age were reduc'd by the Skill and Valour of *Sertorius*; and it was the common Opinion in *Rome*, that he would be sooner in *Italy* than *Pompey*; and how far *Metellus* was terrify'd with his Greatness; and at what rate he esteem'd him, he plainly declar'd, when he offer'd by Proclamation an hundred Talents, and twenty Thousand Acres of Land to any *Roman* that should kill him; and Leave, if he were banish'd, to return; attempting villanously to betray and sell him, when he despair'd of ever being able to overcome him in open War, with all the powerful Forces of the *Roman* Empire. And when afterwards he gain'd some Advantage

in

in a Fight, againſt *Sertorius*, he was ſo wonderfully pleas'd and tranſported with his good Fortune, that he caus'd himſelf to be publickly proclaim'd Imperator, or Sovereign Commander; and order'd that all the Cities which he viſited ſhould [illegible] him with Altars dedicated, and Sa[illegible] offer'd to him; where indulging hi[illegible] ſplendid Entertainments, and co[illegible] pers, he would ſit drinking in his [illegible] phal Robes, with Garlands and Cro[illegible] on his Head, while the Images and Figures of Victory were introduc'd by the Motion of Machins, bringing in with them Crowns and Trophies of Gold, to preſent to him, and Companies of young Men and Women danc'd before him, courted him, and ſang to him Songs of Joy and Triumph; whereby he rendred himſelf deſervedly ridiculous, for being exceſſively delighted and puffed up with the Thoughts of following one that retir'd of his own accord, and for having once the better of him, whom he us'd to call *Sylla*'s Fugitive, and his Forces the Remainder of the ſcatter'd Troops of *Carbo*.

He conſtitutes a Senate out of the Roman *Senators, which fled to him from* Rome.

The Generoſity of *Sertorius* ſignally appear'd when he appointed a Senate, and call'd together all the *Roman* Senators which fled from *Rome*, and came and reſided with him; and out of theſe he choſe *Prætors*

Prætors and *Quæſtors*, and adorn'd his Government with all the *Roman* Laws and Conſtitutions; and though he made uſe of the Arms, Riches, and Cities of the *Spaniards*, yet he would never permit them [illegible] as to mention any thing of Government, but ſet *Roman* Officers and Commanders over them, whereby he reſtor'd [illegible] the *Romans*, without increaſing [illegible]*ds* Power againſt them; for [illegible] ſincere Lover of his Countrey, and had a great Deſire to return home, but in adverſe Fortune he ſhew'd his undaunted Courage, and behav'd himſelf towards his Enemies free from all Dejection and Mean-ſpiritedneſs; but when he was in his Proſperity, and in the Heighth of his Victories, he ſent word to *Metellus*, and *Pompey*, that he was ready to lay down his Arms, and live a private Life, if he were call'd home, declaring, that he had rather be the meaneſt Citizen in *Rome*, than ſupreme Commander of all other Cities together; and it is thought that his great Love for his Countrey was in no ſmall Meaſure promoted by the Reſpect which he had for his Mother, under whom he was brought up in his tender Years, after the Death of his Father, and upon whom he had plac'd his intire Affection, and after that his Friends had ſent for him into

into *Spain* to be their General, as ſoon as he heard of his Mother's Death, he had almoſt caſt away himſelf, and dy'd for Grief; for he lay ſeven days together continually upon the Ground, without giving th[illegible] Word, or being ſeen by the neareſ[illegible] Friends; and when the chief Co[illegible] ers of the Army, and Perſons of t[illegible] eſt Note came about his Tent, [illegible] Difficulty they prevail'd with [illegible] to come abroad and ſpeak to [illegible] and to take upon him the Ma[illegible]ent of Affairs, which were in a proſperous Condition; by all which he ſeems to have been of a mild and compaſſionate Temper, and naturally given to Eaſe and Quietneſs, and that he accepted of the Command of Military Forces contrary to his own Inclination; but not being able to live in Safety, he was forc'd by his Enemies to have Recourſe to Arms, and to eſpouſe the Wars as a neceſſary Guard for the Defence of his Perſon.

His Adminiſtration of Affairs with King *Mithridates*, does further argue the Greatneſs of his Mind; for after that *Mithridates* was overthrown by *Sylla*, and had recover'd himſelf; and, as a ſtrong Wreſtler that is deſirous to try another Fall, was again endeavouring to re-eſtabliſh his Power in *Aſia*, at which time the great Fame of *Sertorius* *His Treaty with* Mithridates.

Sertorius was frequently celebrated in all Places; and the Merchants which came out of *Spain* and the Weſtern Parts of *Europe*, to furniſh the *Aſiaticks* with Foreign Commodities, had fill'd all the Kingdom of with their Diſcourſes of his Exploits r. *Mithridates* was earneſtly deſi- ſend an Embaſſy to him, being al- encourag'd to it by the Boaſt- his Paraſites, and flattering Cour- ho comparing *Mithridates* to *Pyr- rhus*, and *Sertorius* to *Hannibal*, gave out that the *Romans* would never be able to make any conſiderable Reſiſtance againſt ſuch great Forces, and Commanders of that Temper and ſublime Judgment; when they ſhould be ſet upon on both ſides at once; on one ſide by the moſt Warlike General that ever was, and on the other ſide by the moſt powerful Prince on Earth.

Mithridates *ſends Embaſſadours to* Sertorius.

Mithridates having ſent Embaſſadours into *Spain* to *Sertorius* with Letters, and Inſtructions, and with full Power and Commiſſion to promiſe Ships, and good Sums of Money, towards the Charge of the War, if *Sertorius* would vouchſafe to confirm his Pretentions upon *Aſia*, and Authorize him to poſſeſs all that he had ſurrendred to the *Romans*, in his Treaty with *Sylla*. *Sertorius* call'd a full Council, which he

he named the Senate; where, when all joyfully approved of the Conditions, and were desirous immediately to accept of his Offer, seeing that he desired nothing of them but a Name, and an empty Title to Places, not in their Power to dispose of, in recompence of which they should be supplyed with what they then stood most in need of, *Sertorius* would by no means agree to it; declaring, that as he was willing that King *Mithridates* should exercise all Royal Power and Authority over *Bithinia* and *Cappadocia*, Countries accustomed to a Monarchical Government, and not belonging to *Rome*, so he could never consent that he should seize or detain a Province, which by due Right and Title, was possessed by the *Romans*, which *Mithridates* had formerly lost in open War to *Fimbria*, and had afterwards quitted upon a Treaty of Peace with *Sylla*, for he looked upon it as his Duty to enlarge the *Roman* Possession by his Conquering Arms, and not to encrease his own Power, by the Diminution of the *Roman* Territories, telling them that a generous-minded Man, though he willingly accepts of Victory, when it comes accompanied with Honour, yet he will never so much as endeavour to defend himself or save his own Life, upon any dishonourable terms.

When this was related to *Mithridates*, he

was ſtruck with admiration, and ſaid to his intimate Friends, What will *Sertorius* enjoyn us to do, when he comes to be ſeated in the Senate-houſe in *Rome*, who at preſent, when he is driven out to the furtheſt parts of the Earth, bordering upon the far remote Weſtern Ocean, ſets bounds to our Kingdoms in the Eaſt, and threatens us with War, if we Attempt the recovery of *Aſia*? However they ſolemnly upon Oath concluded a League between them, upon theſe Terms, That *Mithridates* ſhould enjoy the free poſſeſſion of *Cappadocia* and *Bythinia*, and that *Sertorius* ſhould ſend him Soldiers, and a General for his Army, in recompence of which the King was to ſupply him with three thouſand Talents, and forty Ships. *Marcus Marius* a *Roman* Senator, who had quitted *Rome* to follow *Sertorius*, was ſent General into *Aſia*, by whoſe Conduct when *Mithridates* had reduced divers of the *Aſian* Cities, *Marius* made his entrance with Rods and Axes carried before him, as before a Proconſul of *Rome*, and *Mithridates* followed in the ſecond Place, voluntarily waiting upon him; ſome of theſe Cities he ſet at liberty, and others he freed from Taxes, ſignifying to them by Letters, that theſe Priviledges were granted to them by the Grace and Favour of *Sertorius*; and hereby *Aſia*, which had been miſerably tormented by the unſatiableneſs of the

He makes a League with King Mithridates.

the Publicans, and oppreſſed by the inſolent Pride and Covetouſneſs of the Soldiers, began to riſe again, and with new Wings added to their former hopes, to ſoar aloft in earneſt Deſires towards their long wiſhed for change of Government.

But in *Spain* the Senators about *Sertorius* and others of the Nobility, finding themſelves ſtrong enough for their Enemies, and having no leſs hopes of returning to *Rome*; they no ſooner laid aſide all fear, but Envy, immediately, and unreaſonable Jealouſies inflamed their minds, and chiefly *Perpenna*, who being of a Noble Family, and extremely envious of *Sertoius*'s Greatneſs, was at this time ſo arrogantly tranſported with a fond Ambition of Commanding the Army, that he threw out villanous Diſcourſes in private amongſt his intimate Acquaintance, and among thoſe whoſe ſeditious Ingratitude had made more willing to hearken to him. What evil Genius (would he often ſay) hurries us perpetually from worſe to worſe, and we who diſdained to obey the Dictates of *Sylla*, the great Ruler of Sea, and Land, and might have lived at home in Peace and Quiet, are come hither to our deſtruction, hoping to enjoy Liberty, where moſt wretchedly we have made our ſelves Slaves of our own accord, and are become the contemptible Guards and Attendants of the baniſhed *Sertorius*,

Perpenna *conſpires againſt* Sertorius.

torius, who that he may expoſe us the further, gives us a Name that renders us ridiculous to all that hear it, and calls us the Senate, when at the ſame time he makes us undergo more hard Labour, and forces us to be more ſubject to his haughty Commands and Inſolencies, than the poor *Spaniards* and *Luſitanians*. With theſe mutinous Diſcourſes he continually ſeduced them: and many who could not be brought to fall into Rebellion openly againſt *Sertorius*, fearing his great Power and Authority, were prevailed with to endeavour to deſtroy his Intereſt ſecretly; and by many ways to ruin his Affairs. For by abuſing the *Luſitanians* and *Spaniards*, by inflicting ſevere Puniſhments upon them, by raiſing exorbitant Taxes, and by pretending that all this was done by the ſtrict Command of *Sertorius*, they cauſed great Troubles and made many Cities to revolt: and thoſe who were ſent to mitigate and heal theſe Differences, did rather exaſperate them, and encreaſe the number of his Enemies, and left them at their return more obſtinate and rebellious than they found them. Which ſo highly encenſed *Sertorius*, and cauſed ſo great an alteration in his former Clemency and Goodneſs towards the *Spaniards* Sons, educated in the great City of *Oſca*; that contrary to all Civil Juſtice, he cruelly put ſome of them to Death, and ſold others.

In

In the mean time *Perpenna* having encreaſed the Number of his Conſpirators, drew in *Manlius*, a Commander in the Army, who at that time loved a Youth, and to endear him the more diſcovered the Confederacy to him, perſwading him to neglect his other Lovers, and to be conſtant to him, alone; who in a few days was to be a Perſon of great Power and Authority; but the Youth having a greater Inclination for *Aufidius*, diſclos'd all to him, which much ſurpriz'd and amazed him; for he was alſo one of the Confederacy; but knew not that *Manlius* was any ways engaged therein; but when the Youth began to name *Perpenna*, *Gracinus*, and others, which he knew very well were ſworn Conſpirators, he was very much terrified, and aſtoniſhed; but made ſlight of it to the youth, and bid him not regard what *Manlius* ſaid, a vain boaſting fellow; but however went preſently to *Perpenna*, and giving him notice of the danger they were in, and of the ſhortneſs of their time, deſired him immediately to put their deſigns in Execution; and when all the Confederates had conſented to it, they provided a Meſſenger who brought feigned Letters to *Sertorius*, in which he had notice of a Victory obtained by one of his Lieutenants, and of the great ſlaughter of his Enemies; and

as *Sertorius*, being extreamly well pleased, was Sacrificing and giving thanks to the Gods for his prosperous Success, *Perpenna* invited him and those with him (who were also of the Conspiracy) to an Entertainment, and being very importunate, prevailed with him to come. At all Suppers and Entertainments where *Sertorius* was present, great Order and Decency was wont to be observed, for he would not endure to hear or see any thing that was rude or unhandsome, and their Freedom and Mirth was Modest and Inoffensive; but in the middle of this Entertainment, those who sought occasion to quarrel, fell into dissolute Discourses openly, and making as if they were very Drunk, committed many Insolencies on purpose to provoke him; and *Sertorius* being offended with their ill behaviour, or perceving the unquietness of their Minds by their muttering and sudden disrespect, changed the posture of his lying, and leaned backward, as one that neither heard nor regarded them. When *Perpenna* took a Cup full of Wine, and as he was drinking, let it fall out of his hand, and made a noise, which was the sign agreed on between them; and *Antonius* who was next to *Sertorius*, immediately wounded him with his Sword, and whilst *Sertorius* upon receiving the Wound turned himself and strove to get up, *Antonius* threw himself upon his Breast,

The manner of Sertorius's *Death.*

Breaſt, and held both his Hands, whereby not being able to free himſelf, he was expoſed to the fury of the reſt of the Confederates, who killed him upon the Place with many Wounds.

Upon the firſt News of his Death, moſt of the *Spaniards* left the Conſpirators, and ſent Embaſſadors to *Pompey* and *Metellus*, and yielded themſelves up to them. *Perpenna* attempted to do ſomething with thoſe that remained, but he made ſo ill uſe of *Sertorius*'s Arms and Preparations for War, that he ſoon made it evident to all, that he underſtood no more how to Command, than he knew how to Obey, and when he came againſt *Pompey* he was ſoon overthrown, and taken Priſoner; neither did he bear this laſt affliction with any bravery of Mind, but having *Sertorius*'s Papers and Writings in his hands, he offered to ſhew *Pompey* Letters from Perſons of Conſular Dignity, and of the higheſt Quality in *Rome*, written with their own hands, expreſly to call *Sertorius* into *Italy*, and to let him know, what great Numbers there were that did earneſtly deſire to alter the preſent State of Affairs; and to introduce another manner of Government. Upon this occaſion *Pompey* behaved himſelf not like a young Man, or one of a light inconſiderate Mind, but as a Generous Commander of a confirmed, mature, ſolid Judgment: whereby he freed

The Spaniards forſake the Conſpirators, and yield themſelves up to Pompey and Metellus.

Rome from great Fears and Innovations, for he put all *Sertorius*'s Writings together, and read not one of them, nor ſuffered any one elſe to read them, but burnt them all, and cauſed *Perpenna* immediately to be put to Death, leſt by diſcovering their Names, further Troubles and Revolutions might enſue.

Perpenna *put to Death.*

Of the reſt of the Conſpirators with *Perpenna*, ſome of them were taken and ſlain by the Command of *Pompey*, others fled into *Africa*, and were ſet upon by the *Moors*, and run through with their Darts; and in a ſhort time not one of them was left alive; except only *Auſidius*, the Rival of *Manlius*, who hiding himſelf, or not being much enquired after, dyed an Old Man, in an obſcure Village in *Spain*, in *extreme Poverty, and hated* by all.

THE

The Compariſon of *Sertorius* with *Eumenes*.

THESE are the moſt Remarkable Paſſages, that are come to our Knowledge, concerning *Eumenes* and *Sertorius*. In comparing their Lives, we may obſerve, that this was common to them both; that being Aliens, Strangers, and baniſh'd Men, they came to be Commanders of powerful Forces, and had the leading of Numerous and Warlike Armies, made up of divers Nations. This was peculiar to *Sertorius*, that the chief Command was by his whole Party, freely yielded to him, as to the Perſon, undoubtedly of the greateſt Merit, and of the higheſt Worth and Renown: whereas many contended with *Eumenes*, till by his great Performances, he at length obtain'd the Superiority.

The Soldiery follow'd the one, being earneſtly deſirous to be commanded by him, and ſubmitted themſelves to the other for their own Security. The one being a *Roman*, was the General of the *Spaniards* and *Luſitanians*, who for many Years before, had been under the Subjection of the *Roman* Empire; and the other a *Cherroneſian*, was chief Commander of the *Macedonians*,

Macedonians, who were the great Conquerors of Mankind, and had at times ſubdu'd the World. *Sertorius* being already in high Eſteem for his Courage and Conduct, and admir'd for his former Services in the Wars, and his great Abilities in the Senate-Houſe, was advanc'd to the Dignity of a General over a great and numerous Army. Whereas *Eumenes* obtain'd this Honour from the Office of a Writer or Secretary, and from having been a long while deſpis'd by the great Ones, for his ſcribling Employment. Nor did he only at firſt take his riſe from theſe ſlender Opportunities, but afterwards alſo met with great Impediments in the further Encreaſe, and Progreſs of his Honour and Authority, and that, not only from thoſe who publickly reſiſted him, but from many others that privately conſpir'd againſt him; but it was much otherwiſe with *Sertorius*, for not one of his Party did ever publickly oppoſe him, or promote any Inſurrection againſt him; nor ſecretly; till at laſt a few of his Acquaintance entred into a private Conſpiracy. *Sertorius* put an end to his Dangers, as often as he was victorious in the Field, whereas the Victories of *Eumenes* were the Beginning of his Calamities, through the Malice of thoſe that envy'd his Glory.

Their Martial Performances were equal and

and parallel, but their Manners and Inclinations were different. *Eumenes* naturally lov'd War and Contention, but *Sertorius* eſteem'd Peace and Tranquility: When *Eumenes* might have liv'd in Safety, with Honour, if he would have quietly retir'd, he perſiſted in his Contentions, and made War with the greateſt of the *Macedonian* Princes, with the Danger and Loſs of his Life: But *Sertorius*, who was unwilling to trouble himſelf with any publick Diſturbances, was forc'd, for the Safety of his Perſon, to make War againſt thoſe who would not ſuffer him to live in Peace: If *Eumenes* had not violently contended for the Superiority, or could have contented himſelf with the ſecond Place, *Antigonus* would have us'd him handſomly, and ſhewn him all Favour and Reſpect, whereas *Pompey*'s Friends would never permit *Sertorius* to live in quiet. The one made War of his own accord, out of his Ambition to rule and govern; and the other was conſtrain'd to accept of the Sovereign Power and Authority to defend himſelf from his Enemies that made War againſt him. *Eumenes* was certainly a true Lover of War, for he preferr'd his covetous Ambition before his own Eaſe and Security; but *Sertorius* was truly Warlike, who procur'd his own Safety by the ſucceſsful Force of his Arms.

As to the Manner of their Deaths, it happened

ned to one without the leaſt Thought or Surmize of it; but to the other when he ſuſpected it daily; which in the firſt argu'd a clear equal Temper, and a noble Mind not to diſtruſt his Friends: But in the other it ſhew'd ſome Infirmity of Spirit, for *Eumenes* intended to fly, and was taken. The Death of *Sertorius* diſhonour'd not his Life, he ſuffer'd that from his Companions, that none of his mortal Enemies were ever able to perform. The other not being able to deliver himſelf before his Impriſonment, being willing alſo to live in Captivity, did neither prevent nor expect his Fate with any Honour or Bravery; for by meanly ſupplicating and petitioning, he made his Enemy that pretended only to have Power over his Body, to be Lord and Maſter of his Body and Mind.